Daily Report

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Exercise Observers in GDR Begin Work

LD2707111388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0827 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Potsdam, 27 Jul (ADN)—International observers of the joint troop exercise held by Soviet Ground Forces and the National People's Army on GDR territory began work this morning. The representatives from 20 signatory states of the Helsinki Final Act were welcomed at the Altengrabow troop exercise area by Major General Stanislav Rumyantsev, deputy diretor of the exercise, and introduced to the situation. The activity is characterized above all by intensive defense actions by the troops and staffs involved. The foreign guests have the opportunity to conduct on-the-spot conversations with army members.

U.S. Military Inspectors Depart Poland

LD2707190788 Warsaw PAP in English 1822 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—A group of the U.S. Army officers who inspected the exercises of the selected units of the Soviet and Polish military forces carried out in north-western Poland, left this country on Wednesday.

The basis for the inspection are provisions of the Stockholm Conference documents, which treat the agreed procedures of observation and inspection as an important factor of building mutual confidence and consolidating security.

The Polish side, as a host state, provided the inspection group with the best possible conditions indispensable to fulfil its mission.

BCP CC Plenum Meets on Intellectual Sphere

AU2707190188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Jul 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Scientifically Based Platform for Fundamental Changes"]

[Text] The Plenum of the BCP Central Committee held on 19 and 20 July 1988 confirmed Comrade Todor Zhivkov's Reflections on Certain Problems and Tasks Pertaining to Restructuring in the Intellectual Sphere, submitted to the BCP Central Committee Politburo as the basis of restructuring in the intellectual sphere. The same applies to the Basic Trends and Tasks of Restructuring on the Scientific Front, and to the Basic Trends and Tasks of Restructuring in Culture and the Arts, as well as to the Basic Trends and Tasks of Restructuring and Further Implementation of the Educational Reform. This package of documents, in its very essence, represents a long-term and scientifically founded platform pertaining to the goals and tasks of the party and society in this sphere of exceptionally great importance for the application of overall revolutionary changes in our society and the implementation of the BCP July Concept.

Both during the preparations for the plenum, the documents of which were submitted for broad discussion to the party, the intelligentsia, and all our society, and during the debates at the plenum itself, which were widely publicized by the media, the urgent need for far-reaching and meaningful changes in our people's intellectual life was confirmed. The party postulate that without restructuring in the intellectual sphere we will be unable to accomplish the revolutionary restructuring of all our society was categorically confirmed. This is so because, without modern science, without the strong impact of the arts and culture, without an effective education, we would be incapable of introducing innovations into the productive forces and enhancing the decisive role of the human factor, which is not only the subject, but also the end product of comprehensive human activities. The plenum confirmed the postulate which our party has always loyally served, namely that the intelligentsia is the striking force of our development, that the members of our intelligentsia are loyal to the ideas and ideals of the BCP, and that the intelligentsia is a reliable unit in the party's and people's efforts to transform our party into a highly developed and civilized socialist state.

It is clearer than ever today that the July Concept on the Further Construction of Socialist Society in our country should represent the basis of restructuring in the intellectual sphere and that this restructuring process should not be postponed for even 1 day it is clear that it will be a prolonged and difficult process with its own specific features and peculiarities and that new and innovative solutions should be sought for the integration and synthesis of science, culture, and education. Lofty and noble, this goal conforms to the revolutionary goals of the total innovation of society. To quote Comrade Todor Zhivkov: "The goal is to create conditions for the optimum expansion of the creative efforts and possibilities of the intellectual sphere and of its workers, to increase their contribution to the country's material and cultural development."

The realistic, businesslike, and constructive approach adopted by the plenum revealed a series of pressing, unresolved problems which require new efforts and specific measures. In the educational sector this applies mainly to the excessive overloading of students that results from imperfect study programs and textbooks. This also results from defeatism [otstuplenieto] and formalism in establishing the uniform secondary polytechnical school, from the need for closer relations between those who employ cadres and specialists and those who train them, as well as from other reasons. The contribution of our science to scientific innovations in the economic sector is unsatisfactory. It actually represents a minimal percentage today. To avoid the bureaucratic approach in the scientific sector and prevent science from representing an end in itself, it is necessary to set up active programmatic collectives and to revive science in the higher educational institutions, so as to give all talented scientists and scholars the opportunity to demonstrate their skills . There are also a great many problems that have accumulated in connection with the organization and development of culture and the arts. The definition of cultural institutions as "organizations with an ideal goal" raises the urgent problem of their financial backing and of providing the necessary paid staff to organize them so that their activities may be developed in people's residential and working places and real conditions may be created for a creative competition aimed at making cultural assets accessible to every individual. New tasks were mapped out for the social sciences sector and for Bulgarian journalism.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum on restructuring in the intellectual sphere showed the unanimity that exists between the party and our intelligentsia. This is based on their common understanding about the importance and responsibilities involved in this area with building the new model of socialism in our country, as well as with the urgent need for revolutionary changes in our intellectual life. The need was confirmed for the intellectual sphere to be freed of all forms and signs of the command-administrative approaches and methods of leadership, from the bureaucratization of management and evaluations, from monopolism and homemade criteria. The path toward overcoming such distortions passes through democratization, self-management, competitions, and limited terms of office, through respect for other people's opinions, and for unconventional solutions. This requires us to give more power to creative workers, and it requires that collectives be created and merged on a voluntary basis, that organs and organizations be created from the bottom to the top, and that the rights and responsibilities are the same for all self-managing units. As was stressed in the introductory speech to the plenum: "Self-management represents a new type of democracy which grants vast opportunities to initiative, talent,

ideas, and imagination, which creates conditions both for talent, competition, and for the competition among ideas, views, and creative products. It also presupposes the observance of and consideration for the consumers interest in intellectual assets." This is the dual unanimity of the goals of democratization in the intellectual sphere, which is required to create prerequisites for intensifying and elevating it, for overcoming monopolism and bureaucracy, for eliminating all obstacles to progress in this field. The role of criticism, of discussions, and of socialist pluralism in ideas and views, the role of extensive glasnost is greatly enhanced in this area.

Restructuring in the intellectual sphere is a party-wide and nationwide cause. It cannot be only the concern and responsibility of the intelligentsia and of scientific institutions, creative organizations, and educational workers. The self-managing economic and territorial communities are most directly involved in intellectual restructuring. They are vitally interested in recruiting highly educated and qualified cadres and specialists, in obtaining new scientific products and technologies, and in working with individuals with high cultural and moral standards. All this requires the elaboration of new mechanisms and forms of cooperation and association among labor and creative collectives for the most complete use of the existing and newly built material base, for the protection and full self-realization of every talent.

The BCP Central Committee Plenum confirmed that our party is the chief guarantor for the revolutionary restructuring of society. Its role and responsibility, its initiative, and the consistency of its policy are being enhanced under the new conditions. However, the forms of work are changing, the responsibilities of party organizations and of communists working in the intellectual sphere are also changing. The statement of the plenum that "the role of party organizations has been considerably underrated in certain cases" requires a qualitative improvement of the organizational-political and ideological activities of party organizations in the intellectual sphere and requires that the occurring anomaly of party organizations being subjected to administrative leading bodies should be overcome. The party organizations should set the tone for new thinking and create an atmosphere of businesslike work and creativity, an atmosphere of respect for the socialist pluralism of opinions. They should adopt measures to eliminate relapses into the outdated methods of leadership, they should promote revolutionary views and actions. The prestige of the communists—scientists, teachers, creative artists, and journalists should be enhanced and asserted through their creative work and lofty moral attitudes, their bold ideas and innovative solutions. It is more than necessary to expand the collective character, comradeship, and mutual respect, as well as publicity, and glasnost in the work of party organizations in the intellectual sphere.

The Plenum of the BCP Central Committee marked the beginning of a new stage in the development of the intellectual sphere and promoted it to the July spirit of our revolutionary restructuring. The plenum highly evaluated the fruitful contribution of the April period in the development of science, culture, and education. The platform of far-reaching changes that was elaborated and confirmed at the plenum will serve as a solid foundation in preparing the congresses of science, of culture and arts, and of public education. Real changes and working solutions in this sphere are awaiting us. This makes it necessary that, as soon as the documents adopted by the plenum are published they should be studied and applied in the future work of every scientific, cultural, and educational institution and organization. The party organizations are called to manifest their responsible role and communist initiative, along with the leading bodies of the self-managing communities and organizations, so that the postulates and solutions of the plenum may become the personal convictions of every scientist and educational worker.

The direction is unmistakable. Trends have been mapped out and specific deeds await us. We are expected to accomplish a great deal of highly responsible work.

Johanes Meets With FRG's Sudhoff

LD2707190488 Prague CTK in English 1745 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak First Deputy Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here Wednesday [27 Jul] with West German State Secretary and acting Foreign Minister Juergen Sudhoff to discuss the Czechoslovak proposal for creating a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line between the Warsaw Treaty and the NATO states.

The West German representative said that the FRG welcomes any initiative and steps supporting stability, peace, confidence, cooperation and the all-European process. He stressed that the elaborated ideas and proposals of the Czechoslovak side will be thoroughly and responsibly studied by the West German side. He expressed his country's readiness to continue a dialogue on the Czechoslovak initiative. The two officials discussed also bilateral cooperation, and the possibilities of a speedy ending of the Vienna follow-up meeting by adopting a comprehensive and balanced document.

Jaromir Johanes met today also with West German Chancellor's Adviser Horst Teltschik to deal with the Czechoslovak initiative, current international issues and bilateral relations.

Greetings to Havana on Cuban State Holiday

AU2707085388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jul 88 p 1

[CTK report: "Congratulations to Havana"]

[Text] Prague—CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary Milos Jakes, CSSR President Gustav Husak, and CSSR Premier Lubomir Strougal sent Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) and president of the Council of State and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, the following congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the Cuban state holiday, the 35th anniversary of the day of the national uprising:

Esteemed Comrade Castro, on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee and the CSSR Government and people we send you, the PCC Central Committee, the Council of State and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and the fraternal Cuban people cordial comradely greetings and congratulations on the state holiday of the Republic of Cuba—the 35th anniversary of the day of the national uprising.

The Czechoslovak people recall 26 July 1953 as a significant landmark in the Cuban people's fight for the freedom and independence of their fatherland. The heroic attack of Cuban revolutionaries (loyal to the legacy of Jose Marti, great thinker and fighter for the country's freedom) on the Moncada Barracks marked the beginning of a new stage in Cuba's history and significantly inspired the people in other Latin American countries in their national liberation struggle.

We are jointly recalling this event at a time when a broad movement is developing in your country for the further economic, social, and political advancement of Cuban society. The Czechoslovak people profoundly respect the results of the Cuban working people's construction efforts, and their unwavering resolve to defend and develop the people's revolutionary achievements and to consolidate the international authority of their country. We are convinced that, under the party's leadership and in firm international unity with the socialist countries, the Cuban people will achieve further significant successes in accomplishing the demanding tasks set by the Third PCC Congress on the path of socialist construction.

We in the CSSR sincerely value the high level of the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our fraternal parties and states, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of socialist internationalism. We will do everything for the further development and successful intensification of these fruitful contacts, for the benefit of the peoples of our two countries in the interests of the common cause of socialism and peace in the world.

We wish you, dear Comrade Castro, and the Communists and all working people in Cuba further successes in attaining the lofty aims of the Cuban Revolution.

On the same occasion Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Severo Aguirre del Cristo, acting chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Power.

On the same occasion Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, sent congratulations to his counterpart, Isidoro Malmierca Peoli; the CSSR National Front Central Committee sent congratulations to the national leadership of the Committees for the Defense of the Cuban Revolution; and the Central Trade Union Council sent congratulations to the Confederation of Cuban Working People.

Official on Status, Problems of Hungarian Minority

AU2807081888 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Zoltan Sido, chairman of the Central Committee of Csemadok, by Jana Casnochova: "Looking for What Unites Us"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Reports disparaging our nationality policy and sowing discord in relations between Czechs, Slovaks, and Hungarians are being spread in the West at

present. Hungarians living in Czechoslovakia are being presented almost as martyrs who are oppressed and have virtually no rights. We have therefore asked Zoltan Sido, chairman of the Central Committee of Csemadok, the Cultural Union of the Hungarian Working People in Czechoslovakia, for an interview.

[Casnochova] Your union has been part of the National Front since January this year. You have acquired new rights and new duties. What has changed in the life of the union in this period?

[Sido] Briefly said, a lot. We have our representatives in all agencies of the National Front. I myself, for instance, am a member of the Central Committee Presidium of the National Front of the Slovak SR. National Front agencies have started to take an interest in our activities. They have included the evaluation of our union's mass-political work and educational and amateur cultural activities in their program. We are intensifying our cooperation with other components of the National Front. At the end of May we signed an agreement on cooperation with the Slovak Central Committee of the Socialist Youth Union. We shall jointly organize cultural and educational activities, for which the youth union will make available its clubs and premises. We would like to establish closer contacts with the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Union of Women, and so forth. [passage omitted]

[Casnochova] All this does not suggest that you are being oppressed.

[Sido] We are not. As a matter of fact, the constitutional law on the status of ethnic minorities in the CSSR clearly states that Czechoslovakia is the common state of the Czech and Slovak nations and of the ethnic minorities living on its territory. It allows everyone's comprehensive development. We have the right to education in our mother tongue, the right to use Hungarian in dealing with the authorities in areas inhabited by Hungarians, and so forth.

[Casnochova] Does this perhaps mean that you have no problems?

[Sido] We do have problems, of course. We are worried, for example, by the sharp rise in the prices of press imported from Hungary. The journal HORIZONT, for example, now costs in the Hungarian People's Republic 20 forints, which is about Kcs10. In 1983 the annual subscription cost Kcs108, this year it costs Kcs768. [passage omitted]

Another problem is the limit on travel to the Hungarian People's Republic. Individual trips can be undertaken only twice a year, a problem that is compounded by the limited allocation of financial means. The green light has been given to organized tours. This is a very unfortunate decision. Each one of us has some relatives in Hungary and wants to see his dear ones as often as possible. The reality is such that people book an organized tour and pay for all the services (meals, accommodation), which they then do not use because they prefer to stay with their relatives. Wide scope is thus opened for various speculators.

[Casnochova] What needs to be done to strengthen mutual relations, in your opinion?

[Sido] The main thing is to do away with prejudices, which are the cause of a lack of mutual understanding. We need a well-informed public. We must get to know one another more deeply. Problems that arise must be dealt with on the basis of mutual agreement and always with an eye to the interests of all people of our country. [passage omitted] It is necessary to purposefully and systematically expand and intensify cultural contacts between the nations and ethnic minorities of our homeland. Individuals and groups for whom our moving closer together is a thorn in the side are activating themselves not only abroad, but also in our country. They could be dangerous. These efforts at home and abroad can be countered, inter alia, by the elimination of blank spots on the map of mutual knowledge. Culture, which influences aesthetic feeling and emotions, must be used with a greater sense of purpose for the strengthening of good and sincere relations. [passage omitted]

Janak Visits Central Slovak Region

LD2607214788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Ignac Janak, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, today paid a working visit to Central Slovakia. The chief party officials of the region briefed him at first on the fulfillment of economic tasks. After that Ignac Janak visited Sverma ironworks at Podbrezova. He was interested in the preparation of labor collectives for restructuring, in the social program of the enterprise, and in the education of young people. He viewed the production projects at the enterprise. Ignac Janak completed his working visit at the Banska Bystrica computer technology works. During the conversation with the leading representatives of the enterprise he talked about topical problems in the production of computers and their solution.

Premier Grosz Received at the White House

Meets With President Reagan

LD2707191288 Budapest MTI in English
1836 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 27 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington on Wednesday.

The Hungarian prime minister was welcomed at the door of the White House by George Shultz, secretary of state, John Whitehead, deputy secretary of state, and Selwa Roosevelt, protocol chief, who escorted him to the office of President Reagan. The President offered his guest a seat beside the fire-place and the correspondents were allowed to enter the Oval Office for a short time.

The correspondent of the Hungarian Television asked the U.S. President about the role Hungary could play in shaping the future of East-West relations.

The question is not the role it will play but the one it is playing now, Reagan said.

Asked about his opinion about the policy and economic plans represented by Karoly Grosz, the President said: I agree with all this. We will discuss this topic.

The two statesmen held a brief discussion in the Oval Office in the attendance of the interpreters and the keepers of the minutes, then the talks continued with a plenary session in the cabinet room.

The Hungarian delegation headed by Karoly Grosz included Ilona Tatai, member of the HSWP Political Committee and deputy president of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce, Laszlo Kapolyi, commissioner of the Council of Ministers, State Secretary Ferenc Bartha, president of the National Bank of Hungary, ambassador of Hungary to the United States. The U.S. negotiating party, headed by President Reagan, included George Bush, vice-president, George Shultz, secretary of state, John Whitehead, deputy secretary of state, Rozanne Ridgway, assistant secretary of state, and Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States.

After the plenary talks President Reagan gave a working lunch in honour of Karoly Grosz at the presidential residence. The lunch was attended, besides the members of the two negotiating delegations, by James Baker, secretary of the treasury, William Verity, secretary of commerce, Charles Wick, director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), Colin Powell, chief security adviser of the President, Marlin Fitzwater, spokesman of the President, and Ken Duberstein, head of the political staff of the White House [title as received].

Leaders Discuss East-West Relations

LD2707225388 Budapest MTI in English
2145 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 27 (MTI) According to competent Hungarian sources, the talks were marked by good, sincere and open atmosphere. President Reagan greeted his guest cordially, emphasized that the visit of the Hungarian prime minister resulted from a decade-long development of bilateral relations, and expressed the hope that relations would continue to broaden.

The President said that the international situation had created favourable conditions for the development of East-West relations and, within that, for the expansion of U.S.-Hungarian ties. He appreciated Hungary's economic and political reform endeavours, emphasizing his confidence that the reforms would promote the development of the country. He referred to the changes taking place in other East European countries, and stressed that Hungary was playing an important role in this field.

The President emphasized that the United States, in its relations with other countries, attributes utmost importance to the enforcement of human rights.

Karoly Grosz expressed thanks for the honouring invitation. On the aims of his visit he said that he wanted to become familiar with the standpoint of the political and economic administration of the United States on bilateral relations and the international situation on the one hand, and inform them on Hungary's aims, political and economic reform endeavours, and the possibilities of developing cooperation, including economic relations, on the other. These reforms are important not only for Hungary, their success or failure may point beyond the borders of Hungary, he said.

Hungary is pursuing an open policy which is also manifest in the economic field, Karoly Grosz said. We wish to strengthen the regulatory role of the market. We strive for economic cooperation with all countries and hope that Hungarian-U.S. economic ties will also expand on the basis of reciprocal benefits. At the same time Karoly Grosz underlined that although the bilateral trade turnover expanded at a relatively rapid pace in the recent period, there are still some administrative obstacles that hinder or slow down the main tendency. We know that the U.S. market is a strict one but it may be useful for our economy as a whole since it sets higher requirements.

Karoly Grosz emphasized that economic cooperation, expansion of human ties and the diplomatic efforts would together yield the results.

The prime minister pointed out that the extension of democracy and the enforcement of human rights are important parts of the Hungarian reforms.

Karoly Grosz termed the improvement of Soviet-U.S. relations as of historic import. He pointed: We wish to make use of the opportunities offered by this change and we are prepared to take part in the process of further improving East-West relations. The Hungarian prime minister appreciated the role President Reagan was playing in this process.

President Reagan stressed again that suspicion and hatred between the individuals and peoples are not a necessity. The President said that Hungarian-U.S. cooperation would be developing in all fields. The President also termed the development of Soviet-U.S. relations as of historic importance.

Leaders Make Departure Statements

LD2707213988 Budapest MTI in English 2020 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 27 (MTI)—After dinner President Reagan escorted his guest to the diplomatic entrance of the White House where the two leaders made departure statements for the press.

President Reagan termed Karoly Grosz's visit as an important success. As he said 'it marks an historic change in US-Hungarian relations which began with the return of the crown of Saint Stephen ten years ago.'

On the Hungarian prime minister's exchange of views on a broad range of topics, President Reagan stressed 'we have been impressed with your openness to new ideas. We are encouraged by your recognition that economic reforms cannot succeed unless they are accompanied by political reforms as well. And this lesson has been demonstrated many times in the recent history of Eastern and central Europe. 'We know that Hungary faces difficult economic and political choices,' he said, adding that the decisions to be made 'will set the direction of Hungary's development over the next decade.'

'We Americans regard Hungarians as a people of great talent, a people who have contributed significantly to America's own development. We know that in Hungary itself the Hungarian people can better their society and their economy if the greater freedom and reforms now being discussed are steadfastly implemented,' President Reagan said.

'From our talks, Mr General Secretary, I believe that you are intent on providing the kind of leadership that will give scope to the energy, ingenuity and vision that Hungarians possess in such abundance. I hope you will take with you some new ideas about America. I hope you will remember what you have seen here about the strength to be found in a society that is free, in a society committed to upholding fundamental human rights and open to diverse opinion and talent. You take with you our best wishes for success. We will be watching developments in Hungary closely and hope to continue working together for the further development of good relations between our two countries,' President Reagan said in conclusion.

Then Karoly Grosz made a departure statement.

Karoly Grosz said in his departure statement: 'I had great expectations as I had set foot on US soil more than 40 years after the last Hungarian prime minister in office. Now, as I approach the end of the trip, I can tell you that I consider it to be useful and successful, and promising for the expansion of the relations between our countries and our nations.

'I was pleased to take this opportunity offered by a personal meeting to convey the high regard of the Hungarian people to you, Mr President, for the results of historical proportions which you and General Secretary Gorbachev have achieved together in the area of nuclear disarmament, in the improvement of Soviet-American relations, and in laying the foundations of a new phase of detente. I also expressed the hope that the agreements guaranteeing major cuts in strategic weapons and conventional forces, and the elimination of chemical weapons would be concluded as soon as possible.

'The Hungarian people has to face enormous tasks in a relatively short period of time. Our future depends on our success in renewing the country's economy and making it competitive. We are aware that this can only be done if the economic and political reform processes are carried out consistently. The success of our endeavours, however, greatly depends on the international conditions. This is why the Hungarian foreign policy is making efforts to improve East-West relations and building confidence between the states with different social orders. To attain our aims we seek to rely on the advantages stemming from international economic, technical and scientific cooperation. We wish to increase the openness of our country, and encourage cultural exchange and the broadening of informational and human relations. My recent talks with the leaders of the United States and the representatives of the political and business circles were also motivated by these endeavours.

'I was very pleased to have had the opportunity to meet representatives of the Hungarian emigration in the United States and to convey the greetings of their native land to them. I am convinced that the citizens of Hungarian origin who are respected in the USA and loyal to their native country can do a lot to develop Hungarian-U.S. relations. I am also convinced, Mr President, that my visit will contribute to the expansion of Hungarian-U.S. relations, and the strengthening of confidence and respect between out peoples and good relations between our countries. I felt that this is a mutual intention, Karoly Grosz said in conclusion and thanked for the warm hospitality he experienced on US soil.

Grosz Holds Talks With Bush

LD2707225488 Budapest MTI in English 2221 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Washington, July 27 (MTI)—After a cordial farewell to President Reagan, the Hungarian prime minister visited Vice President George Bush in his office. In the capacity of a presidential candidate, Bush emphasized: If he were elected, he would continue the policy of the government in office for the development of East-West relations. The vice president qualified the favourable trend of Soviet-U.S. relations as an important development and said that there are hopeful prospects for further agreements.

Karoly Grosz emphasized that this favourable development was welcomed all over the world. He stressed that the success of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union lies in the interest of not only the Soviet people, it may have a favourable impact on Soviet-American and East-West relations as well.

Before his talks in the White House, Karoly Grosz met James Baker, secretary of the treasury. In cordial atmosphere Baker spoke about the economic policy programme of the U.S. Government and the international economic situation.

The prime minister met separately the foreign affairs commissions of the two houses of the Congress. His programme also included a press conference on Wednesday. Karoly Grosz is to end his visit to Washington on Thursday and leave for a brief visit to Toronto, Canada.

Szamos Water Pollution Alert Lowered to 2d Degree

AU2707162988 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 26 Jul 88 p 8

[County correspondent's report: "Second-Degree Alert on the River Szamos"]

[Text] The Upper Tisza Environmental Protection and Water Management Directorate lowered the third-degree water quality alert, on the River Szamos to a second-degree alert, because laboratory tests show that the pollutants have dropped in the part of the river which is on the other side of the border. The river will be watched closely for the time being. A minor deterioration was discernible a little past the convergence of the Szamos and Tisza Rivers, but it was not necessary to do anything about it. As we reported earlier, the domestic water affairs service has initiated a joint Hungarian-Romanian water quality examination to be conducted at the section of the river adjacent to the border. According to a Hungarian statement, an analysis of the pollution indicated that a large amount of animal husbandry and industrial waste materials had gotten into the river. This was not confirmed by Romanian water affairs experts. They said that they did not find any pollution in the water on their side, and that the deterioration in water quality found in Hungary was the result of earlier intensive rains.

The body of a 2-meter catfish was caught in a protective net which the Hungarian Water Affairs Directorate set up across the entire riverbed adjacent to the border. The total loss of fish in the River Szamos is estimated at 1.5 tonnes.

Gypsies Panicked by Alleged 'Skinhead' Attacks

AU2707120288 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 25 Jul 88 p 5

[Article by Peter Balla: "There Are No Skinheads in Borsod County"]

[Excerpts] As we informed our readers some 3 months ago, we have had skinheads in Hungary since 1984, particularly in Budapest. The few hundred youngsters called skinheads cannot be considered criminals in the real sense of the word, because they hold regular jobs and problems arise only when they get together in the evenings. Their views are rather primitive, extreme right wing, and not particularly original. [passage omitted]

Their confused statements show that gypsies and blacks living or studying in Hungary are their main enemies. Hitler is their idol, and a Hungarian kingdom is their "dream."

The police can take effective measures against them only if they commit crimes in addition to their extremist views.

Some weeks ago, a statement was published in the local daily in Miskolc in which the Abauj-Zemplen County Police Headquarters asked the gypsy population to refrain from inciting unjustified panic and from organizing self-defense groups. There are about 80,000 gypsies in this county, including about 18,000-20,000 living in Miskolc. There are also foreign students at Miskolc University. [passage omitted]

On the express train to Tokaj on 22 July, I saw that the aforementioned statement had not succeeded much in calming the population.

"I carry a razor with me. If I meet these skinheads, I will finish them off," one of the "affected" youths said.

"We always travel in groups of six or seven, and I am afraid to think what would happen if we met up with these skinheads," a middle-aged gypsy said to the loud approval of his family. [passage omitted]

The police are not aware of any skinheads in the county. How then could such a "lynch" atmosphere have developed?—I asked Bela Horvath, chairman of the Miskolc Gypsy Council and member of the National Gypsy Council.

[Horvath] I think that the press, radio, and television did not do a good job in informing the gypsy population.

[Balla] Who is spreading the false rumors?

[Horvath] Of course, we have no exact names, we can only guess. Many people do not like us and there must have been those among them who are making use of the gypsies' lower intellectual level and fear.

[Balla] Who can help in this tense situation?

[Horvath] The police, the Gypsy Council, and the local newspaper are all doing a lot to calm the people. It would also be a good idea to try and convince some of the non-gypsy population that they are making a bad and dangerous joke on us. Of course, we have prepared ourselves for possible attacks, but innocents can also become victims when tempers flare up. [passage omitted]

Aczel, Pozsgay, Hamori Discuss Reform

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[Studio discussion with Gyorgy Aczel, director of the MSZMP Sociology Institute, former Politburo member, and Central Committee member; Imre Pozsgay, Politburo member and People's Front general secretary; and Csaba Hamori, Politburo member; moderated by political journalist Laszlo Kery and editor Zsofia Mihancsik—on 18 July; live or recorded]

[Text] [Kery] Our program tonight is in many ways different from our previous discussion programs analyzing political relations, first because of the choice of participants. It is justified for many reasons to ask questions of practicing politicians. One thing is that in recent months Hungarian domestic politics have undergone changes that oblige us all to rethink our relationship toward politics and politicians. In this process, the politicians must also behave differently. It could be felt even at the Hungarian party conference that Hungarian politicians are also trying to find themselves. I think it was by no means a coincidence that at last week's demonstration by young people in Pecs viewers saw on the evening news a slogan that must have surprised many—namely, that every politician should show his face, but just one.

I think this demand goes two ways. On the one hand, people have had enough of politicians who speak with the organization's voice, whose personality is negligible, who simply have no credibility because in any given case their arguments sound so empty that nobody listens to them any more. The other side of this is that the one face should be trustworthy, that it should not change every week.

Having said all this, I greet our three guests, who are not only practicing politicians, but whose lives and careers were very much affected by the party conference in May: Gyorgy Aczel, director of the MSZMP Sociology Institute, former Politburo member and still a Central Committee member; Imre Pozsgay, who recently joined the Politburo and was general secretary of the People's Front, the function of which has changed; and Csaba Hamori, who has been and still is a Politburo member.

My first question is this: As I travel around the country it seems to me that people have not yet digested what has happened in Hungary. Some people say what has happened is that there has been a change of general secretary. Janos Kadar went, Karoly Grosz came. In essence, the same thing is continuing, with the possible difference that Karoly Grosz seems to be holding the reins of power with a firmer, tighter grip; and we can expect that a more concentrated, coordinated power mechanism will carry on functioning much as before.

Another view, shared by more than a few, is that the reform wing has won. You have to look and see which people left the Central Committee and who came in to replace them, and which people left the Politburo and who came in to replace them. Those who profess this opinion say that the important thing is not so much the change that occurred in first secretary, but the personnel changes in the institutions.

A third opinion, which I must say is also shared by many people—though perhaps you have not come across it—is this: that this same party, which has carefully selected its own delegates, has reorganized relations within its own ranks, yet everything goes on exactly as it did before; that the large majority of people have had and will have no substantive say in the development of politics; that in fact what happened is the party's internal affair and society must still just look on from the outside while these political games develop.

Put this way, these are extremist opinions. One can argue against them and I can conceive that you will have a third, fourth, fifth, or sixth opinion. Who will start answering? Gyorgy Aczel:

[Aczel] In fact, we should go back to at least the 13th party congress, where the main characteristic was that the confidence which until then had been diminishing slowly, started to diminish rapidly. The causes were that very many felt that with the failure of dynamism they had lost any prospect of improving their lives. Thus, those who had been poor until now, those on low pensions, felt that the possibility of improvement had also ceased for them. Those who had something felt they might lose it. This lack of prospect, without which people

generally cannot live—in socialism particularly, perhaps, since it had orginally become identified in people's thinking with the concept of improving society—was added to the fact that the processes under way in the Soviet Union had changed the picture that Hungarian society had of itself and of the Hungarian party.

Up till then it seemed that Hungary was striving to implement the reforms, against a major opponent, more or less successfully. Then suddenly it seemed that a tail wind had blown up. Yet despite this the reforms slowed down, were interrupted, and this also increased the crisis in outlook and of confidence. Your question is threefold, and all three are in fact questions of the intelligentsia. The first question of the wide masses is this: We have given this new leadership a measure of trust. Let it fulfill as soon as possible that which we expect of it—the possibility of material advance and material security.

At the same time, we must not underestimate the wide masses who engage in politics and the intelligentsia which expect that the process of democratization which was interrupted should be realized, that rights of freedom should be assured, that human rights should be realized, and that society as a whole should fulfill what it expects of socialism—and we all still feel that we are in its initial phase.

[Kery] What does Csaba Hamori have to say about all this?

[Hamori] I also think that the vast majority assesses what has heppened by asking whether it has brought us closer to improving its own life, to creating material security. Therefore, this is how the large majority evaluates it. It now thinks that even if this has not come visibly closer, its chances have increased. A narrow stratum tries to measure history by this. I would be more cautious here. I am not certain that a new era has begun. The only thing I am sure of is that an era has ended.

[Kery] It will be worth coming back to this. Imre Pozsgay, what is your opinion?

[Pozsgay] I agree that an era has ended. And what has led to this ending is precisely what Comrade Gyorgy Aczel has just been talking about: the rapid loss of confidence. This loss of confidence is an event in the history of Hungarian politics worthy of particular interpretation, because a particular turning point occurred in the process of the loss of confidence. Confidence was lost by the leadership. When the party membership noticed and discovered that society, for this or that reason, had withdrawn its trust from the administration, from the leadership, well, the party membership was transformed—not into a mass incapable of action, being swept along by events; it created an alliance with this society. I could even say that it felt the pressure of this society, and it conveyed this pressure to the party conference.

I am, therefore, of the view that what took place at the national party conference in May was a justified action of self-defense. A more mature society and a more mature party membership than before abandoned the purely executive role, and whether it was required of them or not, whether it was wanted or not, they took over the initiative and carried out the turnabout. In this turnabout it transpired that the party membership and the people have nothing to fear from each another; they have nothing to be scared of, and even if only in the short term, they will find an alliance.

Now, I fully agree with what Gyorgy Aczel just said, that expectations here are linked to material security and to the possibility of promoting personal prospects. Therefore, while we are fretting and agonizing about whether a real reform has taken place in politics, whether this reform means, at the same time, that the reformists have won, society would like to see what the consequences of this will be and whether it will have acceptable, advantageous consequences. This is the most sensitive aspect of today's political situation, and this is the knife-edge upon which the new leadership has to dance.

Just because a set of leaders has departed—for that matter, they cannot be lumped together and disposed of with the unequivocal assessment that those who went were the conservatives and that those who came are enthusiastic generals with a pure spirit of innovation—what happened was much more complex than that. But there is no doubt that those members of the leadership who became victims of the change in leadership had, as a matter of fact, for a long time wanted progress in this party, simply because they were members of the former leadership. [as heard]

This shows how destructive the effect of the loss of confidence was, and also how bad its consequences could be.

[Kery] I would like to ask: I think that this analysis could be seen to apply to Gyorgy Aczel, perhaps, couldn't it?

[Pozsgay] Well, in a way, out of those who are present I would apply this to Gyorgy Aczel. But from now on, I do not want to personalize these things, because the moment I do that, I begin to evaluate people and I am not prepared to do this. I see only one thing here: The whole leadership was contained in one package. And in this package, for example, is was no longer possible to balance the fact that Gyorgy Aczel was struggling against precisely the reason why these events came to pass.

For that matter, the fact that he has kept his place on the Central Committee, his situation, indicates that public opinion did not judge in such an indifferent way. However, there is no doubt that such a lack of differentiation also figured here.

[Kery] Let us ask Gyorgy Aczel, too. This is a unique occasion, to discuss problems such as these by asking him if he has assimilated this, obviously, during the past month.

[Aczel] Well, it did not take me a month. We are very old friends, colleagues, I would say, Imre Pozsgay and I. He knows that back in 1977 I wanted to resign because I believed—which is now becoming the rule—that it is not a good thing to be continuously in a position of power for too long. In 1980 I repeated this, with specific recommendations as to who should replace me. In 1984 it took a few months for me to come to terms with the fact that I would have to stay on. Now it is irrevocable, I have asked to be relieved. Not for health reasons, but simply because I feel it is impossible for me to continue.

I would add that when we talk about the past, then sooner or later for example, when the protocol of the Politburo session is put before the public, it will emerge who adopted what stand. It will then be possible to judge in a differentiated way both of men and of affairs. So, for me it was not a shock...

[Kery interrupting] Excuse me, but do you Politburo members consider it conceivable that newspaper readers will in the near future be able to read the protocols of Politburo sessions, or what happened at Central Committee sessions? Will it be possible to find out who adopted what stand on certain issues?

[Pozsgay] For the time being I do not consider this conceivable. However, I would consider it to be a very important political practice that Central Committee members should know what the Politburo is discussing, who said what there...

[Aczel interrupting] That is the point.

[Pozsgay] ...To what decisions they assented. In any case, this will find its way into public opinion, naturally. It is this which opens up the possibility for the openness of trends. Of course, every political movement may wish that its most select leadership should in a certain sense from time to time make decisions purely with reference to itself. However, some kind of system for this should also be worked out; a certain period of time has elapsed everyone should also be familiar with the protocols which were adopted.

Therefore, the Politburo needs to hold discussions in camera, not because it cannot yet speak about its opinion to the public, before the country's public, but possibly because the results of the implementation might harm partnerly relations and might disrupt other things. This is a question of a working method. On the other hand, Central Committee openness has to be created.

[Kery] This is a very important thread, and I think we may yet come back to this. Anyway, let us return to an element mentioned by all of you. You all raised the point that this country measures politics according to whether its lot, its daily life, is better or worse. To a certain extent political changes are divorced from this. In politics whether the power relations turn this way or that way makes no difference at all to many of the people. I will give you an example: In the minds of the masses the reform is a very negative concept; to them reform is linked with inflation, with things falling apart, with the capabilities of the leadership, and a whole lot of things which are unfavorable for them, compared to an existing harmony. Here it is not possible to promise an improving situation—which for that matter the country expects—within the foreseeable future. No matter what kind of economic situation we look at. This if you like, is where the previous leadership failed. What will provide political capital and confidence when the thing that people have to be made to believe is that their situation will not improve, that what reform means is that if things do not deteriorate, that in itself is a big deal?

[Pozsgay] There must be a serious determination for this. Csaba Hamori said earlier that an era has ended. In that case the borderline must be drawn at that era. And reality has to be admitted; it has to be made open. Things should not now proceed with injustices and bloodletting. The essential thing is not that there should be a general criticism of the previous leadership, but that there should be a selective criticism of the previous leadership. And it has to be shown to the people that this is the legacy which the new leadership has been given. And society must be asked for its understanding that this inheritance will have to be struggled with for years, seeing that there is no possibility for a resurgence [kibontakozas], that at best there is a possibility of maintaining stability. Society, then, will cooperate in this matter with the leadership, with the country's leaders, with its administration. This borderline must be drawn, in my opinion, otherwise the new leadership will be unable to gain trust for such a burdensome task, in which still further sacrifices must be demanded of the people in order that we should emerge from the economic situation that has developed.

[Kery] Let us ask Csaba Hamori, as a longstanding leader of the new era, well, I have been a Politburo member for 3 years. Well, my view is that we must speak about two things. First, that our society has not yet truly faced up to the burdens of this much-mentioned stabilization, resurgence, transformation. It senses that there is a need to take on further burdens, but it does not want to take these on.

[Kery] In other words, things will be much worse than they are now.

[Hamori] I would not say that they will be much worse. This society feels uncertain. And I think that we are to blame for this, since we did not reveal sufficiently clearly

what and how far we shall have to change. So, what I sense today is that the various groups and strata of society are competing about how not to place future burdens onto its shoulders.

My other remark relates to this whole sphere. I think that our society—and once again, it is not society that is to blame for this—is not very future-orientated; it does not have sufficient trust in itself. We have neglected for the leadership those elements with which a society's self-confidence can be strengthened. This society longs for successes. And in recent years and decades it has not seen many of these successes. There were small successes which we proclaimed to be major successes. And there were major failures which we proclaimed to be small failures.

For this reason I agree with Imre Pozsgay that in this sense there has to be an evaluation of the past.

[Kery] When you gave your introductory speech at the Institute of Sociology as a relatively new director—radio listeners will of course realize that I am referring to Gyorgy Aczel—you surprised many people by saying that if there is going to be a reform here, it will change the situation of hundreds of thousands of people on a scale for which society is not prepared. I do not know if you remember this speech?

[Aczel] Yes. First, I would like to add perhaps what is a common opinion, I think, that without doubt, a social net and protection must be provided for those strata who are in the most difficult situation. Second, everyone who deceives people with the rhetoric of reform will come off badly, for it must be known that here a changeover, a real renewal and change involves great sacrifices. To give just one example: In Hungary we were proud for a long time of the great number of those participating in productive work. In Hungary, it is 70 percent of workers, in neighboring Austria 32 percent, in the United States 25; the rest participate in the services, in the infrastructure. Well, this changeover does not involve a certain number of workers going elsewhere; here, temporarily, there is unemployment, retraining, struggling, great problems which affect people's individual lives. Of course, if people have a perspective before them, if they have confidence in socialism—I would add here that in my opinion, many people here are talking about capitalism, they forget that here in Hungary where we do not have Swedish capitalism, but Turkish, Latin American [as heard] we must build good socialism and not bad capitalism—but making up this ground at an accelerated pace, asking people to make sacrifices, is possible if, as Imre pozsgay said earlier, their everyday life changes.

But, this is not just a material question. At the work place, concerning the way of dealing with people, the way people are viewed—they should have a say in their own fate. An astoundingly large number of people are troubled and annoyed by the corruption that has spread in our society, the petty barons, treating people badly, from the outpatients' department to transport, in trade- everywhere. So, problems affecting society's general morale, indeed the whole structure of society, are also waiting to be solved, in an everyday, practical way.

[Kery] But generally, in terms of assessing the country and domestic conditions, it is heard every now and then that things will have to be done, things will have to be developed; but this ultimately always means the party.

In the months before the party conference, did it become completely clear that the membership has problems not only with the party leadership, but also with this party's operation, since hundreds of thousands can be left out over decades, people who are members only to the extent of paying membership dues but whose opinions are never asked? So, here it was not just the leadership that was the cause of worry.

Now the Soviet party conference is behind us. We saw Gorbachev's opening and closing act, which made it completely unequivocal that in this structure, if we are taking the reform even just a little seriously, it must begin in the party, in the political system in general, but within this in the party.

So my question is: After the lessons of the first half of 1988, how do we face this party's situation, what must be done with this party? If we go beyond the rhetoric of reforms, and want real political reform in this country. What does this mean for the party?

[Pozsgay] What I was thinking earlier was (?not) that the party membership had problems only with the party leadership; but the trouble that torments the whole party was embodied in the leadership. That is, the whole society has inherited a Stalinist type of structure in which the authority of the people was substituted by the principle of party authority, and the party's role was taken over by, I will not say an abstract, but a very concretely acting center.

This is not a fact from Hungarian history. It is a historical fact that was bequeathed to us. The Hungarian party tried to break out of this after 1957, but it could only achieve one thing, for it was incapable of arranging a different structure because of the known conditions. It was incapable of arranging a different one, so it tried to humanize this situation. I think this succeeded, too; the personnel conditions existed, as did the necessary endowments. But the structure itself regenerated the whole system of voluntarist decisions in which the party's real role is only that of implementer, or in many cases of approver of decisions made by the center. This is the party membership's role.

It is from this role that it has now departed. For a historical moment, the party membership has left this. If the new leadership cannot grasp this historical moment, and cannot grasp the organizational consequences of it—that the currents of such a massive party, with hundreds

of thousands of members, cannot be ignored, as if they do not exist, by any kind of leadership—then this must be realized organizationally, on the basis of free platforms and with open debate. The party itself should be an organization that is in constant ferment, transformation, and renewal. If it can achieve this, then the role of the vanguard will truly return. I do not like the idea of a directing role. Lenin, for example, never used this.

The vanguard role is the essence, in the party's case, whether 4, 5, or 800,000 people can be rallied together, knowing what their role and job is for. I am not scared of this, of the membership removing itself from particular things, from delimiting local affairs, and starting to deal with national policy. For (?we have also heard) some ask who it does not mind its own business. Well, its own business is also that of who is leading the country. This is the business of every party member and every citizen.

And, in this case, we return to the fact that the citizen is the trustee of power, and from now on, the citizen cannot be replaced, only the leadership can be replaced. We must adjust into this logic, and whichever leadership can recognize this, then from that moment its case is won in the face of the public. A leadership which cannot digest this, can perhaps struggle on for another 10 years at the head of a country, but one thing is sure, those 10 years will be years of struggle and not of resurgence. I think that the present leadership is ready to face these facts.

[Kery] Gyorgy Aczel, on this same question...

[Aczel—interrupting] Well, firstly, as for the general feeling of the party membership they increasingly felt after 1985 that this party has no need of membership. The leadership makes decisions, those are carried through, a plan to convey the decisions down the ladder is prepared. But there is no kind of plan to convey things up the ladder, no way for the party membership's opinion to reach the leadership. This general feeling was voiced at the party conference too.

The second thing is that every one-party system, if it works, is a coalition party. It is a secret coalition, but there are opinions there. There are all kinds of representation. There are places, not far from us, where a party operation exists only in name, where a person dictates, or a family. But, where we have a coalition party working, why can this not be made open?

The third thing which I would like to say briefly here is that I never read anything in Lenin or Marx which said all power to the party; but, all power to the working people, or, translating this, to the organ chosen by the working people—the Soviets as they were then. I think this is an axiom which should now be proven as a precept, and we should really return power to the people. It is on this basis that a party operates and has extremely strong contact from the membership to the leadership, freedom of platforms, freedom of opinion, freedom of thought, with contrary opinion not being viewed as an enemy opinion. So we must endeavor to realize a series of issues which are cliches today, putting them into organizational form.

[Kery] We are still a long way from this.

[Aczel] This is a path upon which we have to embark and I hope that we have embarked on it.

[Kery] Let us listen to Csaba Hamori on this.

[Hamori] If we look at the party now, in July 1988, and compare this to the situation at the same time last year, then we will discern very great differences, in the party organizations, too.

Going around the country I gained the impression that in many party organizations officials are thinking about holding a town, perhaps county, party conference, where they will carry out roughly what the national party conference carried out in its own way. It is as if the earlier reflex of looking upward for solutions, and looking for scapegoats too, has ceased, or at least has been reduced.

So, this party is starting to turn into a political party. Now, for it to really become that—here I agree with Gyorgy Aczel and Imre Pozsgay—there is a need for greater freedom for the various currents, for these to gain a form of expression, too. I will go even further: In my opinion, this is not primarily a question of freedom of platforms, but a question of an organizational principle. Our party organizations today are organized at workplaces. At the same time workplace organisations mean identification with the interests of that workplace group, of that economic group. Thus, the party on its own, as a political force, does not appear in the wide strata of society, so the organizational principle should be reviewed.

[Pozsgay] What Csaba Hamori said just now is very important. I do not know what works the party organizations will have to do, and I will not go into this simply because of my lack of knowledge. But the fact that the branch and works principles have become the main organizational line of the party has just been specified by the party. Meanwhile, we have now proclaimed that we want to be the country's vanguard, as a national party organized around universal people's interest, but we are losing contact with people's everyday lives. If we now add to all this the changes in ways of life, that the whole society is now going back to its living places and homes, wanting to live public lives there if only because it has discovered its own possibilities for action there, then we again reach a particular point regarding our (?right) to freedom. How have work relations been relaxed in the processes of production? We thought a society classified into a hierarchy and supervised on every move, treated like a malleable mass, would build socialism, freed from

the constraints, worries, and so on of the past. The most consistent in this was Pol Pot, and our neighbor. I do not want to bring this connection into all this.

Yes. So only if the people are restricted in their freedom, precisely in their most fundamental existential conditions where they could use their citizens' rights, can this return to the production process. Here it is a fundamental question of political reform.

[Kery] So they are working out their deprivation of political freedom in production.

[Pozsgay] In production processes—and their responsibility has ceased. Their responsibility has ceased at that moment, and they can best realize that they are not responsible in production.

[Kery] And can this become institutionalized behavior?

[Aczel] It must be added that the original meaning of things must be returned: socialism, society, community. At one time the party worked as a community, supported by the community, and as people commissioned by the community. This was the (?custom). For example, there was a time when a person felt that if he did not get anywhere in this party, the world would fall apart. It happened that these were not important at all, its significance ceased, it ceased to be a collective. So we started out down the path of a bad kind of individualization.

[Hamori] I do not think this is completely true.

[Aczel] Although it started out well in the sixties, it has now taken a wrong direction. The young people have turned inward—well Csaba Hamori should know best. The most valuable, best part, which is very often very wishful about the community, has turned toward its professions because it felt that if it gets into a bureaucratic KISZ, then it must turn in a direction it no longer wants to follow.

[Kery] I think this was a point on which everyone had something to say. Everyone agrees that something must be done with this party, radically, fundamentally, if I understood correctly.

[Aczel] There should be a fundamental change in the way cadres emerge—and it is no accident that I do not use the phrase way cadres are chosen, but that we should help their emergence. I have often said that a selection system has not yet been developed in socialism, but there is a counter selection. If you like, the greatest drama of this period is that complicated politics have never had an adequate cadre policy. This is a fundamental question, that people should feel that people are there through my trust. [words indistinct] a different view is needed on cadre policy.

[Kery] Even now there is no real basis for a process of reform. So, wherever they worked, they could witness this counter selection which gave them, as colleagues, people who showed no initiative. Now, if there is to be a real reform, then this problem mentioned by Gyorgy Aczel—the cadre problem—will be made apparent in a dramatic way. Perhaps this party today does not have the appropriate numerical personnel background, which could mobilize this reform throughout the nation.

[Pozsgay] The party should recognize that apart from itself, personnel policy is also nourished from thousands of other sources.

[Aczel] Well, if I expect people to live and die for this country, then why have we not realized our principle to the effect that every function can be filled, apart from party functions, by those outside the party? How can we restrict ourselves to 900,000 people, when people can be chosen from 6 or 7 million people who are capable of work? Our own principles have been...

[Kery interrupting] Are you asking this? I would expect a reply from you, you must have seen this over the decades.

[Aczel] There is an impotent force, as I said the counter selection. Very often nobody gave instructions, and this is also the reason for one of the wrong directions. People thought, perhaps justifiably, that if they want to rise from accountant to chief accountant, then they must join the party. This impeded talented people, these kind of people, from joining the party. On the basis of self-cleansing too, this can change in a healthy atmosphere. But, I also add, something which was not mentioned here, if that party and country is really on the ascendant—in the best sense of the word, not just materially, but spiritually—then those kind of people are attracted to make sacrifices, and toward a party which asks for sacrifices. People today perhaps turn toward their professions, and you will see that they will come here because of increased public activity.

[Kery] Csaba Hamori.

[Hamori] It is my opinion that in practice, the mechanism of this cadre work was rather one-dimensional. Also, this mechanism was burdened by very many subjective elements. This earlier mechanism did however make it possible for anyone to appoint people and demote people according to their inclination, and a wide range could be listed for this. At the same time it did not adequately ensure the emergence of cadres, as has already been mentioned here; probably the measure was subjective here.

[Kery] Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I want to add something: The political cadre is quite a particularly historical figure. It is where one prepares for politics. So, for the emergence of a politician

for example, whether or not a party member, to be carried through, and for it to bring a true selection, with values being made apparent, an open political life and a political arena is needed. Where they tell you what can be politicized, where they work with prewritten political deductions—this is where there can only be officials, this is where there is an enormous dormant potential for them, in their persons, there, to become real politicians.

Openness does not just have the value and role of admitting the truth, but this is an indespensable part of making politics. For this reason, I do not think it an error when glasnost was attached as a precondition to the Soviet restructuring.

[Hamori] We said to the Hungarian Communist Youth League 18 months ago that openness is not an element of but the ground for our work operations.

[Aczel] Let us add that the basis of the whole system- - I now mean the system of ideas—is that in order to do things together with people one has to know who is chosen. He must be assessed daily on whether he is doing things well or badly. In most places, the bourgeoisie has developed elitist schools. I hope that socialism will not choose people in this way but on open fields of combat, on the field of combat of the realization of ideas and ideals. There are conditions for this. The ordinary man must be respected in politics, too, but the primitive man should not be respected. It is not boorishness which offers advantage but being satisfactory on the field of combat. This has not yet been worked out publicly enough, but the general opinion knows these well enough.

[Kery] I think I will give an example of this because you are going round it. We are always talking here in terms of the party membership, a single party, yet we all know perfectly well—and quite enough has been said about it in recent months—that having more than one party would also be an alternative in this society. The things that you have said regarding the functioning of a single party could also be formulated by saying that it would also be a solution if political forces of equal status would compete with each other in an institutionalized fashion. I know that we have not enough time to discuss this question in great detail, but let me ask hypothetically: if it were possible beginning tomorrow to form political parties quite freely, what do you think, how many and what sort of mass parties would be founded here in Hungary? Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I think that this is a game that we cannot play even in our thoughts. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, while in a certain sense I regard myself as a man of ideas, in the political sphere I am a pragmatist. In politics it is not predictions or forecasts that are needed; what is needed is to launch things. What they become very often becomes clear precisely during the launch itself. Secondly, let me nonetheless play with the thought of the impossible. This is something, by the way, that I said at the Central Committee session as well. I have no theoretical arguments in favor of the one-party system, but I have very practical arguments in favor of it. In principle scientific socialism has no program that states that the socialist society must be created under the guidance of a single party.

This game, however, must be carried through in our thoughts to its logical conclusion. How could a multi-party system come about here now? This could happen by the ruling party thinking up partner parties. This lacks seriousness; this would be more frivolous than the present situation; this would be a comedy and it would not be taken seriously. We know of experiments like this in socialism. The other way in which a multiparty system could come about would be within the framework of a spontaneous social movement, which, however, would destabilize the country to such an extent that the limited scope for action that is gradually coming into being would cease to exist for a long time. In this case the country would be forced to occupy itself over the next 10 years with restoring political stability. Thus, what I have to say is that I do not exclude even the long-term prospect of a multi-party system, but this should come about in an organic manner and not for the sake of some sort of idea or movement, or as a thought-up his majesty's opposition.

[Hamori] A few days ago I was in the company of young technical specialists, and we played a game in connection with this question. One of them said that he would create a party of entrepreneurs. He created a model for it. He said that those who join this party are the people for whom the scope of manouver enjoyed by the large state enterprises is bureaucratic, narrow, and clumsy, as is their hierarchy who work with just 1, or 2, or maybe 10 others, who know what they want, who have at least a medium-term specific technical and economic concept, who want to manufacture and market their products. Someone else asked him: But there are large enterprises which know how to be entrepreneurial. Who would join this party from among those enterprises? Well, no need to waste words here, the end was that this whole train of thought became confused; we could not reach a satisfactory solution. I do not think that the performance of this society would be any better over the next few years if we were to organize more parties. On the other hand, I regard it as important that the existing social organizations should have a more political character and that they should function as quasi-parties in given cases.

I regard it as very important that they should have their own views on important social issues, that they should represent those views publicly, that they should debate with others, and with each other. This could represent a genuine area of political action, even in the next few months; just as there are very good initiatives for this already in our society.

[Kery] Would Gyorgy Aczel like to discuss this question?

[ACzel] Perhaps I could start by saying that this is easy for me inasmuch as I have stated in several books that having one party or several parties is not a fundamental issue of socialism. It has developed like this for many reasons, and this is not an issue in itself. What is at issue is the present situation. I believe that it is possible to fulfill all the requirements of social pluralism even in the circumstances of a one-party system, with certain extra difficulties and without certain other difficulties. For example, think of the lobbies and so on which go hand in hand with parties. It is enough to recall that no one as yet has managed to discover any ideological difference between the two great parties in the United States.

[Kery] They have different functions.

[Aczel] Not any more.

[Kery] Elections.

[Aczel] In Hungary the possibility is there; it has developed. In Hungary there is a trade union. If only it worked independently. There is a youth organization which is in the process of differentiation, which has performed many tasks. Various groups are being formed for the protection of the environment. The Chamber of Commerce [as heard] represents a managers' party. These things cannot be prescribed as musical notes, but the organization of society must be allowed to take place, and in a very constructive way, while the requirement of a multiplicity of colors is being realized in the party itself. These also link up with the social sphere and if we carry this out wisely, well, with restraint, then lessons can be drawn from this which, in my opinion, could be utilized far beyond the borders of Hungary.

[Kery] Imre Pozsgay wants to add something to this.

[Pozsgay] I just want to add a brief remark; I hope I will manage to put it briefly. It is necessary to allow the process of organization to take place. Organizations must possess autonomy, and I consider this at the present time to be more topical and more realistic than the organization of a multiplicity of parties to carry out the division of powers in a consistent way and to create the system of control over power; and what is more, to do this in a way whereby the control of power should not require the consent of those who possess power. Otherwise the whole thing becomes a logical absurdity. The institutional forms of this can be created at the present time, I think, through legislation, with a new constitution which states that no organization, institution, or individual can be above the law in a country.

[Kery] In other words, a socialist constitutional state.

[Pozsgay] It is far from certain that we have to determine the kinds of political dynamics which this will give rise to. This is the [word indistinct] of the launching of pluralism.

[Kery] For me the ideas of you three are very interesting and complement each other. Nonetheless, I think it is necessary to ask you: All three of you go all over the country, regularly give lectures. You know perfectly well that there is no forum where this question is not raised. At the same time, the political public fears this multiparty issue. For this reason as well, I am glad that, between you, you have put forward one system of arguments; let us leave it to the listeners to reach their own conclusions. But it seems that it is possible to discuss this issue. It seems that this question also has alternatives, that it can be approached in many ways.

[Pozsgay] It was regarded as taboo for many years.

[Hamori] Our friends included, as I know, their views.

[Kery] It is all right that you were not afraid to talk about it, but in this country many people have been subject to various rather negative evaluations because they raised this problem. I will avoid giving examples. I think that everyone knows perfectly well what I could be thinking of. For example, there is the example of the four people who were expelled. This had a rather close connection with the problem of looking for political alternatives.

Let me open up a last topic for this conversation. Csaba Hamori said that an era has come to an end. Imre Pozsgay carried on this idea in his own way, analyzing what sort of era it was that had come to an end. What I have concluded from these views is that it is some sort of final version of the Stalinist model that has come to an end. The Stalinist structure had many versions in the past 50 years, some of them more and other less bearable. It seems that the social-political system whose political side we were discussing a moment ago has exhausted all its reserves. The people have no patience left with it, to finance it with their work and endeavors. At the same time, we have no guarantees that we have found a different model in its place.

However, the very fact that we are facing a historic situation, that the model, the system in which we struggled up to now cannot think up anything new and that we should think up another one has, I think, become increasingly obvious from the statements of Hungarian politicians in the past month. My question is connected with this. Considering all the problems and worries, all the tensions, dissatisfactions, and lack of trust that have accumulated, where do you see the pivot, that aspect of the internal dynamics of Hungarian society which can be grasped and which can bring about a spectacular turnabout within a year or two? Where can one find the beginning, the start of the development of such a new model, for which a very decisive reform policy could both launch and provide the basis? Imre Pozsgay.

[Pozsgay] I am only [word indistinct] here because one can also [word indistinct] over words and expressions that have gone out of fashion, and tired old slogans, but I will not use these words as slogans now. I am thinking

of a society that is being built from below, whose legal preconditions, constitutional preconditions, we must create. However, for this society to build without fear, for it to be capable of making decisions, for the web of organizations, associations, and communities to come about, the security can be provided not only by the law but also by a certain sort of personal independence.

For this independence, property is needed—not necessarily private property; do not misunderstand me, though that is not bad either. In a certain sense, even that has its historical role even in our present circumstances. It is this sort of independence and security that is needed for this social web to come about, while the centrally and politically constructed socialism does not give up its existence. It merely adjusts to this situation, reorganizing its own relationship with this society. In other words, it is not the case of a society created by the state, but of a state created by society. This is the definition of this role. In this case, we are now facing the task of legislating, of making laws.

This is the greatest task here and now, and as was finally raised in the last minutes of the last National Assembly session, and as the government gave a good response to this, what is needed is to put forward a package plan for democracy—moreover, in the near future. I do not regard lack of knowledge as the greatest obstacle in this matter. In this country enough knowledge has accumulated on these matters to be used. Rather, political path-finding is needed, we must carry out the political path-finding work so that this can come about within the political ruling circles as well.

[Kery] So if I understand you well, there is scope for creating institutions very rapidly through constitutional means.

[Pozsgay] There are other security conditions as well for the self-directing citizen.

[Kery] Is this something that can be done this year, or within a year?

[Pozsgay] This is something that can be done within (?12) years, that can be done in a distinct manner, without society itself coming to fear anarchy. Once a society begins to fear anarchy, it will itself commission a dictatorship.

[Kery] In this case, a series of rapid steps such as these—because obviously this is not a single act—is also suitable for bringing to the surface those social energies that today are not even perceived, because they do not fit into this system.

[Pozsgay] As has been said, we have exhausted all our reserves, we have used up our resources, including the external ones. This can be seen. Thus, we must now turn to the individual—not to the labor force, the abstract labor force, but to the individual, the individual with initiative, the productive individual.

[Kery] I did not think of it just in terms of the economy. I had in mind political and moral capital as well.

[Pozsgay] The individual can produce energy for the society, the individual who possesses initiative, and who has the possibility to use his initiative.

[Kery] Csaba Hamori.

[Hamori] It is possible that Imre Pozsgay is right about this. It is possible that this expression is to be understood literally. I would draw my own ranking order by putting the implementation of the performance principle in our society in first place. The way I interpret this is that things must be measured and evaluated in accordance with the result. It is possible that this is a manifestation of a technical outlook, but I think it can be applied in the sphere of politics as well. In the case of a politician, this means the unity of words and deeds, as a question opening this conversation also noted. There is the question of face. In the economy it is the actual performance, which is becoming increasingly measurable. Our economic conditions are certainly being clarified on these tendencies. In public life, this will be expressed increasingly by electing and a chance of being elected.

[Kery] Let me raise another problem here. There are many kinds of performances in a country. This moves from the easily measurable manual performance to the intellectual, artistic performance that may be given its due only by later ages. If I look at it this way, then the performance principle also means that the approach to the professionals this system employed for so long when dealing with them—and in general the approach to intellectual work, which, contrary to all doctrines and propaganda, achieved a state where in the functioning of the Hungarian school system the anti-learning, anti-knowledge motivations have strengthened—is absolutely untenable.

[Hamori] This could be the topic for another long conversation.

[Kery] Yes, I have gotten off our topic, but Csaba Hamori said, when he was speaking about performance, that he was looking at it from a technical approach. I am asking this question to clarify quite unequivocally: Does this performance principle also mean that it is going beyond the technical, factory, and other such types of performance? This would mean that intellectual work as a whole, professional careers, are seen in a completely different context.

[Hamori] Yes, they must be seen in a different context.

[Kery] I see. Well, Gyorgy Aczel has a chance to react to the views of the other two.

[Aczel] Well, I think that without expanding this conversation, it would be worth noting for a moment that from a world historical point of view we have come to a different position since the Soviet party conference. This movement, which reality has created and was a response to the inhuman, unbearable stage of capitalism, has given people hope through intolerance to the horrors of the past, by revealing and changing them. I do not want to demonstrate from history that there has never been a case like this, when a movement wants to show by itself all the dirt and filth of its own past. This shows the victory of the profound humanity of this movement.

From a world political view this has made our search for the right path easier, and for a return to the starting pont of this movement. As early as 1923 a British encyclopedia wrote that it was for this idea that the greatest number of people had died in the course of history—not in order to place the means of production in state ownership, but for a different, renewed, human life. In my opinion, if we now return to today's realities, we are now in a different historical situation, and whether it wants to or not, Hungary has become an experimental laboratory for the future, for the elimination of the alienation which has manifested itself in our society as well, for securing a rational human life in accordance with the original goals of socialism, so that, taking into consideration that we live for a relatively short time on this earth, it should provide the possibility for a meaningful existence.

As my comrades and friends have said here, in order to work out the structural and organizational preconditions for this and, furthermore, various types of preconditions, there is a need for a movement, there is a need for a different evaluation of intellectual work, for a different position to be given to the intellect, for changes in organized and unorganized human relations. In other words, we should move towards a dynamic stability [as heard] both in the social and in the economic sphere, which has not been the case for a long time.

In 1850, English bankers sat down together and decided that there was no point in investing in Hungary because there was no political stability. If we create this dynamic stability, then, by bringing internal and external forces into motion, I think that within a short space of time we can achieve not radical change but we can make people experience the path toward radical change, which will make everyone live and work differently. The atmosphere can change.

[Kery] Well, there is not much left for me except to thank you for your patience. There is one thing, however, that I am wondering about. Are you always in such perfect agreement?

[Pozsgay] Well, when were we given an opportunity to test this in front of the public?

[Hamori] This is the first time. But on important issues we are in agreement.

[Aczel] This is why we belong to the same movement. We are in agreement on basic issues.

Olechowski Visits With Rockefeller, Koch

LD2707202688 Warsaw PAP in English 1819 GMT 27 Jul 88

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] New York, July 27—Poland's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tadeusz Olechowski, on the last day of his stay in New York and before his talks with the representatives of President Reagan's government in Washington, paid a courtesy visit to David Rockefeller. Issues concerning the activities of the Foundation for the Development of Polish Agriculture were the subject of the talk. David Rockefeller showed interest in the development of Polish-U.S. relations and the economic situation of Poland.

On the same day, Minister Olechowski met with the President of the World Jewish Congress, E. Bronfman, and the organization's Secretary General M.A. Singer. The sides discussed the issues of preservation in Poland of Jewish culture sites and monuments to the martyrdom of the Jewish nation, and talked about the forms of economic engagement in Poland of the Jewish community from other countries.

Olechowski met on July 26 with the President of the Institute of East-West Security Studies, John Mroz, and with a group of experts in international affairs. The topics discussed concerned Polish-American relations, the problems of disarmament, including the Polish initiatives pertaining to the reduction of armaments and building of security in central Europe.

Also on July 26, Olechowski called on the Mayor of New York Edward Koch.

POLITYKA Publishes Khrushchev Speech

LD2707161188 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] The most brutal violations of socialist law and order, torture and persecution, leading to the defamation and self-denunciation of innocent people were sanctioned by Stalin. This sentence, uttered in a public place even a few years ago, would have caused a sensation. Today we find it in the most recent issue of POLITYKA, where—for the first time in the Polish press—the text of Khrushchev's speech on the cult of personality and crimes of Stalin is printed.

Well, better late than never. It is a pity, though, that some historical truths exist for such a long time in the public awareness so that when we at last have the document in our hands, it is, so to speak, late in relation to what we already know.

More Commentary on Gorbachev Official Visit

Academics View Meeting

PM2707133988 Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 16-17 Jul 88 pp 1-2

[Commentaries by Wroclaw academics—participants in 14 July Warsaw meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Polish intellectuals, reported by GAZETA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Lena Kaletowa: "An Important Thing Has Happened: Wroclaw Academics Relate Their Impressions After Royal Castle Meeting"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] We have asked those Wroclaw academics who took part in the meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev at the Royal Castle in Warsaw to share their impressions and their most personal reflections with our readers. Here is what they told us:

Prof Jan Kmita [rector of the Wroclaw Technical University]:

"I traveled to that meeting with expectations which, I think, were not fulfilled. And I believe it was our own fault, for there were so many people there, and so many addresses delivered, that the secretary general ran out of time before he could comment on a great number of issues.

One thing that was characteristic throughout the meeting was the high degree of mutual esteem and respect noted between Polish intellectuals, artists, and men of learning and the Soviet leader. And, at the same time, a very direct, unrestrained tone of the addresses and contributions delivered by the participants. Much of the credit for this goes to Prof Bogdan Suchodolski who presented the initial, lucid exposition of the goals toward which Polish intellectuals are striving: The joint creation of new values should go hand in hand with gradual elimination of the burdensome inheritance of the Stalinist era.

Gorbachev's address was clearly designed to accommodate a reply to questions raised in the debate.

The debate itself included many important contributions. I believe that the standard of presenting the questions raised in the debate met with Gorbachev's approving respect. I think he realized that the people gathered at the meeting represented real commitment and, even though they professed different opinions, they were prepared to risk their own authority to further the renewal.

Those who took part in the debate at Warsaw's Royal Castle were convinced that after that meeting the Soviet leader would be able to apply his undisputed power to clear up the conflicts of our shared past and to put our negative historical experiences behind us. They offered him their ideas to assist him in that difficult role. For example, speakers expressed their concern for the success of the Soviet restructuring campaign and offered their advice on how to tackle bureaucracy: Since it cannot be completely vanquished, it should be given a

new role in the process of restructuring. They showed that they trusted Gorbachev as they would trust a close friend: They were respectful, but at the same time they kept their sense of partnership, and they were confident that what they said would be accepted even if it was uncomfortable for the addressee of their comments.

However, we did not hear what we were so eagerly waiting for—that is, his own comments. The time ran out. But the idea of publishing a book of the meeting offers us some hope. The idea itself is quite extraordinary. And I will also regard such a publication as very important for a personal reason because I had put my name down to speak. I intended to speak about the role of the younger generation and of the higher education system in restructuring our states. In that field, change is very slow or does not take place at all.

Prof Olgierd Czerner [Wroclaw Technical University, Faculty of Architecture]:

I am fortunate in that I had put my name down to speak at the meeting, so I can write my speech and submit it for publication in the intended book of the Royal Castle meeting. Therefore I am not disappointed that I did not speak directly at the meeting. I think that my contribution would have been classified in the debate as belonging with some discussion about obstacles to exchange and contacts between individuals, in the literary sphere, and in the area of making redress for past wrongs.

Those are also important concerns, but the major and most important theme of the meeting involved addresses concerning Poland's future, role, and place in Europe: A Poland which would be both Slavic and Latinate, and which could become a bridge between the East and the West if we decided we did not want to allow an irreversible division to split our continent apart. Here important things were said about the tradition of Polish sovereignty and about Polish people's attachment to that tradition.

Did I feel I was taking part in a historic event? I think that what I felt came closer to the attitude expressed by Krzysztof Zanussi in an interview for ZYCIE WARSZAWY, where he observed that, having noted that the list of intellectuals invited to the meeting failed to include many eminent names, he felt he should really have refused to attend. Nevertheless, he decided to take part in the meeting out of his respect for Gorbachev. That was one of my reasons, too. The other was my belief that one should never abandon one's decision to do something important if there is a chance of succeeding. What the result will be is a completely different matter.

That is why I will put my contribution down for publication. In it, I ask for a revision of the question of the allocation of the Ossolineum collection [before World War II, largest national library and collection of archives at the Ossolinski National Institute in Lvov; only part of collection was returned to Poland after the war]. In the Stalinist period many people perished and those wrongs cannot be redressed. In the case of the Ossolineum, the injustice can be redressed. A joint Polish-Ukrainian commission must look into this matter. And all the valuable items, all the works without which Polish culture cannot exist, should come back to us.

Prof Kazimierz Urbanik [Presidium member, Polish Academy of Sciences]:

It was my third encounter with Mikhail Gorbachev. I had met him twice in Moscow, up close and personal. The first time was during the Lomonosov anniversary celebrations, and the second at a forum dedicated to the prospects of a peaceful future for the world. He has an amazing capacity for listening to people with complete attention: It is as if he were seeking fresh fuel for his ideas in their diversity of thought. I also admire the consistency of his actions.

On my way to the meeting I also expected to see my Soviet mathematician friends there. I spoke to Prof Fadeyev of Leningrad, president of the International Mathematical Union, about the practical effects of the restructuring campaign, about the ways in which the straitjacket of bureaucratic restrictions which previously hampered all scientific collaboration with the USSR and frequently distorted the idea of cooperation is now giving way, how it is now becoming easier from one month to the next to establish and maintain contacts, and how rational activity is now becoming possible. I should like to see our own bureaucracy shedding its shackles at the same rate!

I am convinced that I have participated in an unprecedented event. Practice will now show, when words become deeds, whether it deserves to be called a historic event.

Prof Bronislaw Pasierb [professor of political science]:

I have registered such a whirlwind of ideas and impressions that I do not quite know where to start. Perhaps, then, I should start on a professional note: I am a political scientist and I have been watching the Soviet restructuring with great interest from the very beginning. From the theoretical viewpoint the most important question is how a theory is born, how it is realized in the broad field of public activities, and how it proves itself in practice.

The idea of restructuring constitutes a complete about-face. For the first time attempts are being made to test and verify the correctness of everything which over the past 50 years constituted the practice of what is termed real socialism, its enduring characteristics, and its values. Gorbachev discussed that for 40 minutes.

I found the Royal Castle meeting more satisfactory than the Soviet leader's Sejm address, although my expectations had been higher still. I am interested in the Soviet leader's stance on history: We Poles assess leaders

according to this criterion. It is, of course, true that many weighty words were said, but, for instance, Gorbachev did not comment on the Katyn issue.

However, having carefully thought over all the fragments of the meeting where he was thoroughly questioned on Marxism, on his attitude to religion, and on the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, I concluded that it was a good thing that the Katyn issue was not raised. That incident—a painful one, to be sure, but still an incident—should be dealt with by the science of history, whereas what we expected from the Soviet leader was to speak of expiation relating to the Polish victims of Stalinism. In his concluding speech Gorbachev promised an acceleration of all work designed to clarify the large number of difficult questions concerning Polish-Soviet relations. And we shall now await the fulfillment of that promise.

Prof Ryszard Badura [professor of veterinary science]:

In my opinion, an important thing has happened: Formerly, socialist values were meant to benefit the people—now they are meant to benefit the individual human being. This is a most essential difference in the treatment of the individual person, with his ambitions, aspirations, and desires, who is now to be treated very differently within the state system. It was said at the meeting that it is necessary for the concrete, individual human being to be happy, for only then will he become creative. To me it seems the most important motif of the meeting.

Other important motifs concerned the question of Europe and the question of friendship. Europe is at present divided: economically, politically, and militarily. In the field of culture and learning, Europe must become a community. Free exchange of ideas and of cultural and academic values must become a reality. It is not only intellectuals who are supposed to be responsible for cultural values. Politicians too must realize that without the universal cultural values the material world will inevitably suffer degradation, corruption, and annihilation.

We had declared friendship with the socialist countries, but the declaration itself has failed to make friendship grow. We need to begin to build it up in reality, from the very foundations. The model that is considered correct by the largest state should not be copied by or imposed on others. That was the context of the words, spoken at the meeting, about our sense of incomplete sovereignty.

The declaration issued after the conclusion of the talks between our respective leaders contained words about respect for the differences between individual countries and for their national sovereignty. After the speeches we heard at the Royal Castle, those words acquired a new dimension.

Questions Resolved and 'Unanswered'

AU2707140488 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 24 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[Janusz Reiter article: "Open Questions"]

[Text] It is a pity that M. Gorbachev was short of time during his meeting with intellectuals at the Royal Castle in Warsaw. Polish participants in that meeting asked him a number of questions which should not have been left unanswered. They included questions about the principle of sovereignty, about the application of this principle to Polish-Soviet relations, about the so-called Brezhnev Doctrine connected with that principle, and about that doctrine's practical application, such as the 1968 military intervention in Czechoslovakia. Departing Poland, Gorbachev left behind those and some other questions requiring answers, because they concern issues that are fundamental to Polish-Soviet relations. The issue of Katyn is still unresolved.

However, this assertion does not diminish the importance of the Soviet leader's visit. His predecessors would depart Poland without leaving behind any unanswered questions because one was not allowed to ask questions. Polish-Soviet relations were ruled by decreed friendship, one which had hardly anything to do with people's true feelings and with the real contacts between our two countries. Gorbachev's statements during the visit showed that he saw through that gap between fiction and reality quite accurately. But, as Professor Jan Szczepanski remarked during the meeting with intellectuals, one should not regard as resolved the problems that have been merely noted and discussed. The official interpreters of perestroyka often commit that error, and some of them did whatever they could during Gorbachev's visit to stimulate aversion to the Soviet leader. The importunate flattery and the hagiographic style of some of the mass media revived the worst possible memories. This was not merely a question of the stupidity or servility of a small band of people. This posed much more important questions—whether perestroyka is to be a critical political method or a collection of dogmas that are not subject to any criticism at all; whether the author of perestroyka is to be a friendly leader of a neighboring country or a new teacher [nauczyciel], as some people already seem to regard him; and whether the compatibility of Polish and Soviet interests should be freely discussed and coordinated or should constitute an absolute truth that brooks no opposition.

Much has been changed in Polish-Soviet relations, and Gorbachev's visit enabled us to realize this. It is true that Nikita Khrushchev was inclined to tolerate Polish agriculture, but during one of his visits to our country he pontificated that our peasants would in any case go for progress, that is, would switch over to the collective economy, a move that the appropriate authorities would have to assist through a suitable farm policy. Gorbachev toured a farm owned by a Polish farmer, but he did this not as a missionary preaching the socialized economy, but as a politician of a

foreign country who does not discuss his views on the "superiority" or "inferiority" of private farming. He also paid a visit to the Mariacki Church in Krakow, an event which demonstrated, albeit reticently, his recognition of the Catholic Church in Poland as a permanent and not a merely temporary element of Polish reality. None of Gorbachev's predecessors was able to make such a gesture. Through this gesture Gorbachev demonstrated his political realism, which is the most indispensable quality in international relations. Finally, his meeting at the Royal Castle in Warsaw demonstrated his appreciation of Polish political pluralism, which is, of course, much more extensive than suggested by the composition of the participants in this meeting.

All this attests to an evolution of Polish-Soviet relations, an evolution that has just begun and has not ended in success as some people would like to assert. The purpose of this evolution should be to develop a model of our mutual relations whose foundation is not the common ideological goal, but the conviction that there is a convergence of the political interests of our two peoples, who are free to make choices, but who follow the instinct of realism. It is true that the formula that professes a multitude of roads to socialism—roads which make allowances for national differences—expresses a similar intention, but this expression gives rise to some doubts. The notion of "socialism" has very many interpretations, and one is not quite certain whether it denotes an ideological vision or geopolitical reality. Who has the right to give a definition of socialism and to determine whether a given country can be placed within this definition or whether it is already beyond it? What will happen if a country or a group of countries reach the conclusion that their ally has crossed the "borders of socialism?" CPSU Central Secretary Medvedev said at a press conference that the principle of sovereignty is valid without any restrictions in relations between the socialist states in the same way as it is valid in relations with the states practicing different political systems. However, an evaluation of the intervention in Czechoslovakia, which Gorbachev promised at his Royal Castle meeting, would invest that principle with a more specific substance. He promised to give such an evaluation as well as answers to other questions in a special book of his.

No matter what significance the clearing up of all the doubts connected with those questions would have, one thing is certain: Ever since Gorbachev has taken power, the entire Soviet bloc has enjoyed a climate that is more favorable to reforms and experiments. It is the task of individual countries and primarily of their governing teams to exploit this climate. For many years these teams have continued to make it known that reforms were being blocked by the Soviet leadership, which was averse to changes. This excuse is now out of the question. Given all its ideological reservations, Moscow seems to be primarily keen on its allies achieving political and economic stability. That is why it allows them to a great extent to choose their own roads leading to that goal. This is certainly not a satisfactory formula of sovereignty, but it opens for individual countries some room to maneuver, which has been little exploited so far. This applies primarily to domestic, economic, and political reforms seeking to open the door to the world. At one time Poland was the leading country in the Soviet bloc insofar as the reforms were concerned, but today we may be left trailing behind through our own fault.

The small and indecisive steps taken by our governing team do not satisfy anyone at all. They do not satisfy either the opponents and advocates of reforms, or our people, or Poland's Western partners. The reforms implemented by dribs-and-drabs methods continue to create the impression of stagnation and even regression. Convincing people that this is not so is a useless undertaking. Radical and bold reforms could not only create the climate of a breakthrough in our domestic relations, but also play a role in European policy. If it is true that Europe has again become the primary issue in the Warsaw Pact's policy, then Poland could take advantage of this and play the role of a kind of intermediary—not a neutral one, but one who belongs to the Eastern bloc and who paves the road for its allies' cooperation with the West. Economic relations, which are most important from our viewpoint, would have priority. For example, Poland could act as the promotor of trade between the two blocs, if only by such expedients as establishing large areas of free trade and allowing much more foreign capital to flow into the Polish market than is presently the case. Poland could play a first-class role in organizing something like a new Marshall Plan to eliminate the technological chasm between Western and Eastern Europe. It would be out of the question to restrict our European role to occasional declamations and to the privilege of publicly presenting joint decisions. This role must involve the right of initiative, even of the initiative that does not win everyone's admiration. After all, CEMA has begun contemplating possible cooperation involving only those member countries that are interested in it. This has been a practice for quite a time now, as attested to by the special trade relations between the GDR and the FRG and by the GDR's actual participation in the EEC.

Whatever has been mentioned here can be included in the formula of "the multitude of roads to socialism." Even if we accept this formula with some reservations, we have to exploit all the opportunities it offers, without giving up our own vision of Polish-Soviet relations. What is to be Poland's special position of the closest ally, which was so defined by Gorbachev during his visit, if not outstripping other countries in reforms and in promoting greater openness in relations with the West? During the meeting of the Dziekania Club of Political Thought, Professor Andrzej Walicki said that Poland could be more interesting to the West as a country that is a member of the Eastern bloc and that is open to the West than as a country that is a peripheral country of the West. This evaluation is in force. Although Gorbachev's visit did not confirm this evaluation in as an effective way as one would dearly wish for and although many questions of Polish-Soviet relations remain open, while waiting for answers, let us test whether it is already possible to achieve more than we dare to think.

Poles 'Vegetating' in Austrian Refugee Camp

AU2807104488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Jul 88 p 6

[PAP Vienna report: "Less and Less Chance of Asylum in Austria"]

[Text] Special PAP correspondent Wlodzimierz Korzycki writes: Poles trying to obtain asylum in Austria have less and less chance of obtaining it, and those in the transit camp at Traiskirchen near Vienna are finding it more and more difficult to survive. Not only are they vegetating in increasingly crowded conditions, they are also surrounded by a climate of growing reluctance.

Two Austrian weeklies, PROFIL and SAMSTAG, have published almost simultaneously reports on Traiskirchen, with pictures of rooms in which potential asylum-seekers are literally packed like sardines.

PROFIL describes 27 year-old Stanislaw F., who abandoned his tour group in May and came to Traiskirchen following a night spent at a railroad station. He told PROFIL: "I expected help from everyone in Austria. I thought people here understood our problems." However, the reality turned out to be different. During his first 50-minute interview, he was asked the following questions: "Why have you come to Austria? Tell us your story." As soon as he started to talk about his "Solidarity" activity, the interviewers interrupted: "We are only interested in the most recent past. Were you in prison, were you beaten?" Three days later, his asylum application was rejected in the first instance, and also in the second instance.

Stanislaw F. commenced a hunger strike. On its tenth day, at 0630 hours, the police snatched him from his wooden bed and led him (or, to be more exact, dragged him) to the camp administration, who gave the bewildered and weakened Pole his passport back.

According to Article 1 of the Geneva Convention, a refugee is someone "who is outside his country of origin due to justified fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, membership of a certain social group, or political conviction, and is unable to or afraid of submitting himself to the protection of that country." The Austrians know very well that the huge majority of those asking for asylum do not meet the above conditions. Austrian Interior Minister Blecha says that the accelerated 3-day asylum procedure will weed out about 90 percent of applicants, people who only have economic reasons for leaving their country.

Dissidents Refused Passports for French Holiday

AU2807063688 Paris AFP in English 2149 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 27 (AFP)—The president of the banned Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), Leszek Moczulski and his son-in-law, fellow KPN member Krzysztof Krol said Wednesday they had been refused passports for a family holiday in France.

Mr. Moczulski said the Polish Interior Ministry had "no valid reason" for denying them their passports, which were also denied to Mrs. Moczulski but not to Mrs. Krol.

Police invoked Paragraph Two of the Foreign Travel Law which can deny passports to those whose "behaviour abroad may tarnish the good reputation of Poland".

Mr. Moczulski had last year criticised the regime led by General Wojciech Jaruzelski during a news conference held in Paris while holidaying in France.

But Polish authorities recently gave permission to leave Poland to Professor Bronislaw Geremek, a senior adviser to the banned trade union, Solidarity, and Jacek Kuron, a leading member of the opposition.

Home Ministry Reports Emigration Figures

LD2507095788 Warsaw PAP in English 0908 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—"Between 1981 and 1987, more than 113,000 Poles went abroad to live there permanently while nearly 153,000 did not return from their foreign trips and stayed abroad. In the last seven years, nearly 266,000 Polish residents settled abroad and most of them are still Polish nationals. Moreover, every year more than 250,000 people stay abroad longer than it was declared in their passport applications," Edmund Liziniewicz from the Home Ministry's Passport Department told PAP.

"Every Polish national who lives abroad, irrespective of how he left Poland and settled abroad, has the right to return here. Typical of the last years is that people prolong their temporary visits abroad in order to earn money there which is most frequently in collision with the local legal regulations.

"The decisions to return are hampered by the fear of restrictions for the illegal staying abroad, fear that after the return to Poland another foreign trip would be impossible. After some time, some of them receive foreign citizenship. This produces a situation when people, who are still Polish citizens, return to Poland and the only document they show is, just in case, a foreign passport with the Polish visa received in a Polish consulate.

"I want to stress that in certain situations, when it is in a citizen's interest, Polish consular missions have been entitled to grant Polish visas to citizens of Poland in their foreign passports," Liziniewicz said.

Glowczyk Addresses Party Secretaries

AU1107143188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jul 88 p 2

[Report on speech by Jan Glowczyk, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, at the 7 July session of the voivodship party secretaries discussing the seventh plenum and the elections to the people's councils—place not stated]

[Text] Speaking at the end of the session, Jan Glowczyk, who is now in charge of the political-organizational aspects of party work, said: Party members seldom ask

themselves about the place of the party in our life, but it is a fact that the party and the entire country are late in development. Poland's backwardness is a matter of its past, and although the postwar political changes have eliminated some of that backwardness, our development began again to slow down as the years passed by. However, together with most socialist countries, we have now entered a period or a deeper stage of a new revolution. That is why we must have acceleration, and the party must be behind it. Although the ninth party program rejected extensive economic and political methods, we continue to stick to them, which is nothing to wonder at, because rejecting extensive methods is not a matter of merely changing machines and programs. It is a matter of the attitudes of people. We must change their interests and feelings and do this with their cooperation. But first we must change the party and change it quickly.

The primary task posed by the ninth congress is to recover people's trust in the party and to fight for ties with the masses—with all classes, segments, and generations of people. If we have not been able to completely achieve this, we should blame primarily ourselves for this. Some party members are "indifferent" to our reforms and profess the philosophy of submission to the fate. Can such a party be revolutionary and win the younger generations? The participation of these generations in the party is a must, because their interests are naturally directed toward the future.

A vital flow of thought among party members is now more than ever necessary as a foundation of party ties. By influencing each other, party members will influence the people and individual communities. The party conceived as a group of "birds of a feather and no one else" is the biggest offense and the most serious error. We are still prone to issue commands, to rule by coercion, and to reject political methods of activity. Such behavior indicates weakness and not strength. People respond to encouragement and not to fright.

It is impossible to lead the people if they do not trust the party and if the party does not trust the people, who have proven and continue to prove that they deserve to be trusted.

Barcikowski Addresses Scout Gathering

AU2707161488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Jul 88 p 3

[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, at a 21 July gathering of Polish Scouts at the Grunwald battle site, Olsztyn Voivodship]

[Text] You have come to the Grunwald rally from all parts of Poland. So many centuries have elapsed since the events of 1410, and now once again the battlefield is full of flags, this time belonging to Scouts, who have come from Greater Poland, the cradle of Polish statehood; from Lesser Poland, which already belonged to the Kingdom of Poland in those times; and from Silesia, which did not.

Can there be any clearer evidence of historical continuity than your presence here today? You have been here before. Your ancestors were here almost 600 years ago, and fought a victorious battle which determined Poland's existence. You are their heirs.

You have come to this gathering in accordance with the traditions of the Polish Scouts Union. Grunwald and the knightly symbols connected with it are a permanent part of scout philosophy and provide a basis for upbringing in a climate of truth and love of the fatherland. You have raised Zawisza the Black, one of the heroes of Grunwald, to the status of a symbol and ideal. The names of today's scout troops and packs hark back to those times.

The Olsztyn region, so beautifully recorded in Polish history, has received you with hospitality. While camping on this territory, you are crossing the path of the road to victory, but also the road taken by dedicated activists who were later murdered by the Hitlerites. You are following the trail of the 1945 Soviet Army offensive, which liberated this land for Poland. You are meeting the inhabitants of this land, the people responsible for its rebirth and annexation to the fatherland.

This area has experienced and preserved much of Polish history, and today Poland is flourishing thanks to your work and presence here. I trust you will look after all the best features of Poland's past and present.

At this gathering you are playing host to pioneers from Lithuania, Smolensk, the CSSR, and GDR. We are pleased that they are here today, because this emphasizes that the struggle for justice and peaceful existence is a joint one, and underlines the communion of people, which is assuming increasing importance today in the face of the emerging concept of a single Europe. The socialist community of nations may contribute permanent values to a future Europe that respects the sovereign rights of nations and is free from the danger of war.

Politicians and humanitarians are already talking about the Europe of the future. However, shaping the future concerns everyone, each one of us. Let us try to understand the future, to seek our own parts in this future, to seek friends for ourselves and for our common cause. May the Grunwald gathering be a good opportunity for this. May you never lack the time to devote yourselves to other people.

You are holding this gathering on the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the Polish Scouts Union. This is a long time, and the scout movement has undergone serious trials during this period. But it always came out on top. Only very naive people can think that the Polish Scout Union could have lived in its own world and own time, aloof to the dramatic events and social changes.

The Polish Scouts Union has rendered great services for Poland, and today Poland is recognizing this by means of decorations and by means of its respect. This is because scouts went to battle whenever Poland's safety was at stake, when it was the supreme duty to do so. That is the how it is today as well. Never has the association lost sight of the welfare of children and young people. This has always been visible and is visible in the association's concern for the physical and spiritual development of young citizens, a concern encouraged by the ability of scout activists to make good the mistakes which occurred now and again, which in turn was the result of the great sensitivity of scout masters to social and patriotic affairs.

As an association, you are facing a new challenge today, partly because of a new stage of the scientific revolution and its effects on countries and people. I trust the ideological-educational heritage of Polish scouthood will help you to enhance your relationships with people and society, establish a proper relationship with nature and the environment, and shape a good human character. There is a reemerging need to protect man against aggressive acts and against the dangers he himself creates by having no set goals in life.

I hope that in future too, the Polish Scouts Union will develop as a body that is full of life and joy, one that shows young people how to achieve even the most difficult objectives and implement even the most complex of plans.

We can make the state and society more friendly toward young people, but this does not alter the fact that each one of us is master of his own fate. No one can effectively look after someone else's affairs. That which can be achieved by altering social conditions is important, but that which can be achieved by the individual in given conditions is no less important.

Soon after this meeting, your wonderful gathering will end. I do not know if you will agree with me, but this gathering will only end in the physical sense, in the sense that we are all here among the woods and lakes of the Olsztyn region. But we will take the gathering's spiritual sense home with us, and it will live on in our memories and in the activity of your packs. We have to take with us thoughts about Grunwald, about Poland's history and future. May they remind us that one has to live wisely and serve Poland conscientiously!

The events that have gone down in history were the work and experience of past generations. We can only imagine what it was like at the time. Learning history and art helps us to do so.

It is different when it comes to our own participation in the formation of history. Here we can make choices, even if we do not realize it. I have already said that everyone is the master of his own fate. Depending on his attitude, each one of us is affecting the fate of everyone together.

Passive attendance means giving up one's role in life. But an active desire to work means helping to shape history. Let us be active in our own development and in the development of others. Let us realize the historic dimension of our times. Let us see to it that life is worthy of the people of our times.

The world is experiencing enormous changes in various spheres. Socialism is experiencing profound changes. It is at times of breakthrough that young people have the chance of making their mark in creating new solutions.

We invite you to take active part in socialist renewal and in building a Poland of your times, according to your strength and expectations.

Socioeconomic Statistics Released

LD2707215988 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 27 Jul 88

["GUS Report on Poland's Socio-Economic Situation in First Half of 1988"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 27—In the first six months of 1988 the output of the socialized industry grew in comparison with the same period last year. The dynamics of export and supply-investment production were higher. However, there were two more working days than in the period under comparison and, furthermore, this year's winter was much milder than a year ago.

The dynamics of exports and imports, especially in the turnover with the hard-currency countries was higher. A surplus trade balance was achieved in trade with both currency zones.

The money-market balance deteriorated in the period under consideration.

Conditions of Economic Development [subhead]

At the end of June Poland's population totalled 37.9 million people, i.e. it exceeded by about 100,000 the figure recorded at the end of 1987.

Supplies of basic resources and materials varied in the individual material groups. Hard coal supplies dropped by 1.1 percent. The demand for electricity was covered in full.

In the January-May period 1,448 enterprises, that is 7.7 percent of the total, recorded losses. The figures in the corresponding period last year were 2,017 and 11.4 percent respectively.

Material Productivity Industry [subhead]

In the first half of 1988 the sold production of socialized industry in fixed prices was 6.3 percent higher in comparison with the first six months of 1987. In the same working time the sold production was 4.9 percent higher.

The sold industrial production intended for the market and export was 3.0 and 13.0 percent higher, respectively, than in the period under comparison. The advancement of the Central Annual Plan in sold production in the first six months of the current year was higher than the lapse of working time and amounted to 51.2 percent.

Coal production grew by 1.1 percent while the production of electric energy amounted to 96.9 percent of the output in the first half of 1987.

Agriculture [subhead]

This year's losses in winter crops were considerably lower than last year's and below the average losses noted in the 1981-1986 period.

Pig population grew while the number of cattle fell. In June 1988 the herds of farm animals totalled: cattle—10,321 thousand head (1.9 percent fall), pigs—19,606 (5.7 percent increase).

Foreign Trade [subhead]

The advancement of the annual plan of exports and imports to the socialist states amounted to 48.4 and 47.9 percent respectively. A surplus of 292 million roubles was achieved which constitutes 58.4 percent of the annual plan. For comparison the surplus achieved in the first half of 1987 amounted to 65 million roubles.

Poland's debt in socialist state currencies grew from 6.6 billion roubles at the end of December 1987 to 6.9 billion roubles at the end of June 1988.

The advancement of the annual plan of exports and imports to the hard-currency countries amounted to 52.8 and 52.4 percent respectively. A trade surplus of 662 million U.S. dollars was achieved, which was 30 million dollars lower than the surplus achieved in the first six months of 1987.

Poland's debt in Western currencies fell from 39.2 billion U.S. dollars at the end of December 1987 to 38.0 billion dollars at the end of June 1988 mainly as a result of the increase of the dollar's rate against other world currencies.

In comparison with the first half of 1987 investment imports (in fixed prices) grew by 23.5 percent, imports of the factors of production grew by 14.3 percent and market imports grew by 14.2 percent.

Twenty seven percent of the imports from the hard-currency countries was financed by enterprises and organizations mainly from their export revenue allowances (24 percent last year).

Money-Market Situation [subhead]

The money-market situation in the first half of 1988 was characterized by a rapid growth of the population's monetary incomes in comparison with the same period last year, a considerable increase of the retail prices of goods and services and an unsatisfied demands for many commodities, especially durable goods.

In the first half of this year the population's monetary incomes amounted to 7,267 billion zlotys and exceeded last year's corresponding figure by 2,829 billion zlotys, that is 63.7 percent. Wage and salary payments by socialized economy units grew by 53.1 percent while social benefits grew by 67.4 percent.

At the end of June the population's monetary resources (savings and cash) were 28.9 percent higher than last year's figure.

In comparison with the first six months of 1987 the share of food sales dropped from 30.7 to 29.8 percent while the share of the sale of durable goods increased from 55.8 to 56.6 percent and alcohol from 13.5 to 13.6 percent.

Retail prices of goods and services grew by 51.0 percent in the January-June period in comparison with the analogous time span last year with the prices of consumer goods and services and non-consumer goods and services growing by 49.4 and 60.2 percent respectively.

The high increase of the population's monetary incomes caused a growth in demand for goods and services. At the end of June the value of stocks in the socialized trade (calculated in current prices) was approximately 31 percent higher than in June 1987. In the light of the price increases which took place in the first half of this year it is assumed that the real value of stocks was lower than a year ago.

Salaries and Incomes [subhead]

The average monthly income in the socialized economy amounted to about 43.5 thousand zlotys and grew by approximately 16 thousand zlotys (57.5 percent) in comparison with the same period in 1987.

Costs of Living [subhead]

It is estimated that in the first half of the current hear the cost of living index of people working in the socialized sector of the economy grew by about 50 percent, private farmers by about 49 percent and old age and disability pensioners by approximately 51 percent.

Retail prices of consumer goods and services grew on the average by 49.4 percent. Prices of goods grew by 48.8 percent, including a 46.1 percent increase of food prices.

State Council Decree on Pay Rise Published

AU2607160388 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1430 GMT 26 Jul 88

["Pay Rise in Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/07/1988—The decree of Romania's State Council for the application of the provisions of the Law No. 4/1988 regarding the increase of the working personnel's pay was published in Bucharest. It stipulates that starting 1 August the tariff remuneration of all categories of working people is to increase by stages by ten per cent on an average. Thus the remunerations of up to 2,000 lei are to increase over 1 August-1 October 1988, the first stage of the rise drive, by branches and areas of activity. With this category the increase tops the average standing at 33 per cent or so. The remunerations ranging between 2,001 and 2,250 lei are to rise in the second stage—1 November-31 December 1988—and the remunerations of over 2,250 lei are to increase in the third stage—1 March-1 August 1989. The first beneficiaries are those working in the units of the Ministries of Mining, Oil, Electric Energy, Metallurgy, Machine Building, the last to benefit from this drive being the staff working in education, health care, culture and the arts, state administration. According to the provisions of this normative act, the increased tariff remunerations will also include the compensations for farm produce, heat, natural gas and other fuels granted on the basis of previous regulations (1982). The pay rise is applied at the established date to all the workers stipulated for each stage. The document also specifies that the working staff that have already received the compensation for heat, natural gas or other fuels, function of the number of children supported, at the date when the pay rise comes into force will receive an increased state benefit for each child. The monthly contributions for the children in creches and kindergartens over 1 August 1988-31 August 1989 are established on the basis of the non-increased remuneration of their parents or legal providers. Likewise, starting the 1988-1989 academic year, the stipends for pupils and students will be granted according to the aggregate pay of their pupils or legal providers. [sentence as received]

Ianca Commune To Become 'Agroindustrial Town'

AU2607161188 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1437 GMT 26 Jul 88

["The Commune of Ianca, Braila—Firm Steps Towards the Stage an Agroindustrial Town"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/07/1988—The Commune of Ianca, that has known continuous economic and social development in the years of socialist construction, lies in the heart of the Braila plains, along the Buzau-Braila railway route (in the south-eastern part of Romania). Ianca and its six villages are inhabited today by 13,000, of which roughly 5,000 live in the commune seat. Its economic potential is supported by the three cooperative farms there, with the first boasting 36 years of existence, a sugar factory with a production of 400 tons of sugar a day, a drilling well and oil production sections in Braila, a poultry slaughter house and a chicken-rearing farm, two fish-rearing farms, a farm machinery station and a handicraft section whose production is intended for export. For Ianca, the present also means an industrial and, respectively, a petro-chemical high school, a vocational school and other learning units for all pre- and schooling segments, five dispensaries, a hospital, a pharmacy, a hotel, numerous shopping and servicing units and several "Song to Romania" cultural and creative centres, cinema houses and libraries. Ianca is connected to the inter-city telephone network and boasts potable-water-supply and sewerage systems that are being expanded, a thermo-electric station, a stadium for 5,000, and a dirt track, the country's only such track in the rural area. Besides numerous modern private dwellings, the commune boasts two- and four-storeyed houses. The number of flats in apartment houses will stand at one thousand this year. This industrial and farm production base, along with all urban facilities are prerequisites for Ianca's transition to the stage of an agro-industrial town in the near future.

Politburo Members Mark Ceausescu's Rise to Power

Bobu Delivers Panegyric

AU2607182588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 88 p 3

["Comrade Emil Bobu's Speech" to a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, held on 23 July 1988 at the Neptun resort, on the occasion of the 23d anniversary of the 9th RCP Congress]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

These days we are experiencing, with legitimate patriotic pride, some soul-lifting historic moments.

Our whole party and nation are celebrating, in a unity of thought and feeling, a great event with profound impact on the history of our party and fatherland, namely the 23d anniversary of the 9th RCP Congress, when, through the unanimous will of the Romanian Communists and nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Republic—hero among the nation's heroes, eminent fighter, revolutionary patriot and thinker, prominent personality of the international communist and workers movement, hero of peace, and symbol of the struggle for the defense of the independence and sovereignty of nations and for the establishment of a new world order—was elected at the helm of our party and state.

In the period since that outstanding event, which has inaugurated a golden era of deep-going and profound revolutionary changes in all fields of socioeconomic and political life, Romania has scored unprecedented results

in its millenia-old history, thus showing to the entire world what a free and independent nation—which is independently fashioning its own future and whose destiny is guided by a great leader and extraordinary personality—can achieve.

We note today, with boundless satisfaction and full gratitude, that in the subsequent period after the Ninth RCP Congress our glorious party—acting on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and guidelines of priceless theoretical and practical value—has carried out an intensive political, organizational, and ideological activity in all spheres of socialist construction and has launched a resolute campaign against dogmatism, routine and conservative attitudes, and other trends of stagnation, cosmopolitism, and servitude and obsequiousness toward certain outside influences, thus creating all prerequisites for the dissemination of a new spirit, namely the workers revolutionary spirit, and for the full assertion of the human personality and dignity.

The historic era inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress—which was defined by the theses and guidelines laid down by our illustrious party-state leader in accordance with the contents and specific characteristics of each developmental stage—has unleashed the creative initiative and energy of the broad masses of working people and dynamically channeled them toward the attainment of a modern industry and intensive agriculture. Concurrently, we have achieved an unprecedented development of science, education, art, and culture, under the direct guidance and with the outstanding contribution of Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu, front-ranking militant of our party and state and scientist of wide international renown. We took steps to further raise our people's material and intellectual living standard. All this was achieved in an authentic democratic climate, within the framework of our revolutionary workers democracy, on the basis of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant thesis regarding the construction of socialism with the people and for the people.

This broad and complex revolutionary process has steeled our glorious Communist Party, which, under the impulse of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's forceful ideas and freshly creative thinking, consolidated its revolutionary spirit and dignity as well as its awareness as the party of the workers class and the whole nation, thus becoming the vital center of our socialist society and honorably fulfilling the historic mission it has assumed.

It is the decisive merit of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general, communist visionary, and brilliant strategian, to have armed the party with an authentic revolutionary program and to have steeled it from an organizational and ideological viewpoint, thus protecting it from any confused orientations and arbitrary decisions.

This is another wonderful opportunity to refer to the recent discussion by the entire party and nation of the brilliant April theses drafted by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the RCP Central Committee plenum, which are a new and telling proof of his creative genius. Millions of Communists, members of trade unions and of youth and women's organizations, members of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and other categories of working people took part in this discussion, which has shown our nation's full endorsement of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's great social and political work as well as its warm gratitude for the priceless contribution made by our party-state leader to developing the treasure of scientific socialism and of the revolutionary thinking and practice.

At the same time, these broad discussions have emphasized that in the future all party bodies and organizations must act, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu justifiably requests from us, in a spirit of greater responsibility and revolutionary ardor, to instill a climate of high order and discipline, to fulfill all socioeconomic development plans and programs, and to implement the decisions of the 13th Congress and the National Conference of the RCP in an exemplary manner.

In these highly moving moments of patriotic enthusiasm, all Communists and the working people are directing their thoughts and best feelings, with steady gratitude, to you, most esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, builder of modern Romania, who are leading our nation to the highest peaks of progress and civilization, with unparalleled clear-sightedness and peerless revolutionary ardor, and who enjoy a huge and well deserved international prestige throughout the world, for your prodigious activity that brought you the unanimous recognition as a great hero of peace. All of us extend to you, from the bottom of our hearts, wishes for much health and energy, so as to further lead the Romanian party and people, with the same clear-sightedness, daring, dynamism, and brilliance, toward building socialism and communism in our beloved fatherland.

May you live a long life, to the glory of the RCP and the greatness of the SR of Romania!

Dobrescu Tribute

AU2607194888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 88 p 3

["Speech by Comrade Miu Dobrescu," chairman of the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions, to a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, held on 23 July 1988 at the Neptun resort, on the occasion of the 23d anniversary of the 9th RCP Congress]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu:

In a monolithic unity with the whole party and nation, we are recalling today the memorable historic act 23 years ago when the supreme forum of the party, the Ninth RCP Congress, invested you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in the supreme position as secretary general.

This is a particular opportunity and also a great privilege for me to be able to pay you most ardent homage and to express the entire gratitude of millions of working people that belong to our country's trade unions for the total self-denial and exemplary devotion with which you have worked to give the Romanian nation its true personality and dignity, as well as the possibility to assert its huge creative potential and the fashioning of its new history.

The 23 years which have elapsed since that historic congress bear the mark of your huge personality as a visionary thinker and revolutionary militant, whose prodigious and original theoretical and practical activity has decisively influenced the revolutionary process of building the socialist society and guaranteed the great socioeconomic development of the country.

In this historic period we have created our unique and original system of the revolutionary workers democracy, which ensures the working people's real participation in running the entire society and is a telling expression of your concept that socialism is being built with the people and for the people.

Comrade Academician Doctor Engineer Elena Ceausescu has made a great and most valuable contribution to drafting and implementing the plans for the country's socioeconomic development and ensuring the upsurge and flourishing of Romanian education, science, and culture. On behalf of the working people who are members of the trade unions, we pay her, on this anniversary occasion, a warm and respectful workers homage.

Thanks to your innovative concept, the trade union movement in our country has acquired a role and a place which ensure its direct participation, as the mass organization of the owners, producers, and users of the national wealth, in the entire socioeconomic and political life of the country.

We assure you, much esteemed comrade secretary general, that we fully understand the new demands and requirements set by you for the trade unions and that we are firmly determined to radically improve our entire activity, under the leadership of party bodies and organizations, and to mobilize the working people in fulfilling the 1988 plan and the entire 5-year plan.

Expressing, on this occasion, too, our profound gratitude for the new pay and pension increase, we assure you that the working people will reward your constant care to further raise their living standard with new deeds of work.

We solemnly pledge to do all we can to implement your guidelines and orientations and we wholeheartedly wish you much health and the same working and creative energy, for the good and prosperity of the fatherland and the Romanian people.

May you live a long life, much beloved and esteemed comrade secretary general!

Dascalescu Encomium

AU2707104588 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Jul 88 p 3

["Comrade Constantin Dascalescu's Speech" to a meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, held on 23 July 1988 at the Neptun Resort, on the occasion of the 23d anniversary of the Ninth RCP Congress]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu:

With the most noble feelings of appreciation and regard, today we celebrate the 23d anniversary of that wonderful historical moment, when the great forum of the Romanian Communists—the Ninth RCP Congress—elected to the helm of our party the great hero of our country, the hero among the heroes of our nation, the brilliant leader of the destinies of our socialist nation, our much beloved leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of our party and president of the Republic.

At this anniversary, we recall your whole life and revolutionary activity devoted with passion and devotion to the supreme interests of our people and we pay profound homage and express ardent gratitude to you, the farsighted leader, who has opened up new horizons and paths and who has been called upon by history to lead Romania's destinies toward the pinnacles of socialist and communist civilization.

Most confident in the great creative power of our nation and in its force and constructive intellect, we celebrate the best, the most beloved, and most esteemed son of our people, whom you lead toward ever greater aspirations and toward the goal of raising our Romanian homeland to glory, dignity, and greatness, by making complete use of the huge power resources of our nation.

With greatest satisfaction, we enjoy the happiness of knowing that the unprecedented progress attained by the Romanian people in the glorious years of the period inaugurated by the Ninth RCP Congress—a period that irrevocably has penetrated the conscience of our nation as the Nicolae Ceausescu Era—are the fruit of your masterly theoretical and practical work, which has left a decisive mark on this period that is inscribed with golden letters in the chronicle of our homeland's new destiny.

Today, we pay great homage to your strong personality and we celebrate with deep respect and great appreciation the eminent revolutionary and leader of our party and country, who, in a short historic period, with the people and for the people, succeeded in conveying brilliance to our homeland, greatness and glory to the party,

and dignity to Socialist Romania, a country in which all the sons of our nation, in complete freedom, can express the full potential of their constructive skill.

The outstanding successes that our people have achieved in the Nicolae Ceausescu era, are brilliantly emphasized by the reality that, during these years, we have achieved the most wonderful results in the whole period of socialist construction in Romania.

During this glorious period, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country, with a modern industry, organized on the basis of the latest discoveries of modern science and technology, and with a socialist agriculture in the full swing of progress; this period has been marked by a strong development of science, education, and culture and by a higher level of material and cultural well-being of our whole nation.

Your principled, comprehensive, original, and highly revolutionary concepts, of great practical value, regarding the qualitative changes in the national economy, the strong development and modernization of production forces, the rational and harmonious distribution of production forces throughout the country, and the establishment of a strong technical-material base, are decisive factors for ensuring a steady progress of the whole country.

Bold programs for perfecting organization, modernizing production processes, and more markedly increasing the utilization rate of raw and other materials, fuel, and energy, by making use of the most modern technology, as well as programs for continuously raising labor productivity, substantially reducing consumption, and increasing the quality of products and economic efficiency in all the fields of activity have been elaborated in accordance with your recommendations and guidelines.

During this period, which has brought glory to Romania, our homeland has enjoyed great international prestige, as a result of the activity carried out by you, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ardent patriot and tireless fighter for the cause of socialism, peace, disarmament, and cooperation among all the nations, who is seeking solutions to the great problems of our times, in accordance with the aspirations of our own people and of the whole world.

Today, because of its principled policy, spirit of initiative, and the dynamic character of its foreign policy—whose inspired thinker and ardent militant you are, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu—Romania's name is spoken with admiration and respect everywhere.

Greatly mobilized by your recommendations and guidelines, I assure you, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that the government will take firmer actions, with a greater communist commitment and revolutionary spirit, in order to fulfill in an exemplary way, the great responsibility falling on us, in implementing the magnificent plans and programs for the many-sided development of our socialist homeland.

Being truly convinced that, under your clearsighted leadership, the Romanian people will unflinchingly progress on the road of their socialist and communist future, at this festive event, we pledge to obtain this year the best results of the current 5-year plan period and we assure you that we will consistently implement the historical decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and of the Party National Conference, to ensure the steady progress of our dear homeland, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

We express our boundless admiration for your revolutionary decisions, for your devotion, boldness, and dynamism, with which you are leading our homeland and party, and for your great love of people, which kindly and generously illuminates the path of our nation's destiny, together with the whole country and people, we extend to you wishes for a long life, working energy, and health, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, for Romania's glory and prosperity and for the cause of peace, socialism, and progress throughout the world.

From the bottom of my heart and of my soul, I wish you a long life, much esteemed and beloved leader!

Jansa, Others' Trial Sentences Explained

AU2707143488 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1353 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] A news conference is being held at the Military Court in Ljubljana in connection with the sentence passed by the bench of five judges today. As we have reported, Ivan Borstner was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment, Janez Jansa and Franci Zavrl to 18 months, and David Tasic to 5 months imprisonment.

The court has lifted the detention of the convicted persons. We shall report on the news conference in our subsequent newscasts. Milan Trobic will now briefly summarize the explanation of the sentence:

Colonel Vlaisavljevic, president of the bench, read the sentence on the Military Court in Ljubljana in the case against Ivan Borstner, Franci Zavrl, David Tasic, and Ivan Jansa. The sentencing was attended by the accused except Franci Zavrl, by their relatives, (?several) journalists [words indistinct].

If we summarize the main points of the sentence, we may say the following: David Tasic has not served in the Army and therefore he found it more easily to decide (?to pass on) the military document [words indistinct]. Franci Zavrl is said to have served in the Army as a telegraph operator, which means that he had to handle highly confidential military orders daily, or from time to time. Therefore, he could conclude that the document was part of a highly confidential military document.

Ivan Jansa is a defense studies graduate, and therefore he could have known professionally that the document was a military top secret. Franci Zavrl came to see him and asked him whether this really was a very important document. Ivan Jansa kept the document and took some time to consider it. Among other things, his previous activities, which is to say journalism, are considered to burden him; he dealt with such matters and therefore should have known that the document was an important factor in revealing military secrets.

Ivan Borstner is burdened with having been employed in a place where confidential data was available. Therefore, he had access to this document. When he turned his back on military service, he knew exactly what was at stake and he passed the documents to people in MLADINA and to the public at large.

The mitigating circumstances adduced for all are the facts that they have not been previously convicted, they have been sincere in court, and we could go on listing. The convicted persons may appeal against the sentence 14 days after they receive the sentence in writing, which will happen in the next 5 or 6 days.

Sentence Termed Illegal

AU2707175988 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1700 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Matjaz Albreht report]

[Text] The Human Rights Protection Committee met at Krizanke in Ljubljana this afternoon. At the beginning, Svetlana Slapsak welcomed about 1,500 people that had gathered. A representative of the Belgrade committee protested against the use of Serbo-Croatian at the trial. In (?her) opinion, the sentence is therefore illegal and illegitimate.

Joze Skolc, new president of the Slovene Youth Federation, supported a retrial open to the public with civilian defense counsel in Slovene taking into account all the civilized and legal achievements. He called the Jansa trial the greatest political excess in our country in the past 40 years. The youth organization will therefore endeavor to reveal those who caused it.

The committee later accepted a suggestion that the Slovene state organs should be acquainted with the secret document and should assess its content. It will appeal to Slovene and Yugoslav politicians to reexamine all the postwar political trials. Together with the initiative group for setting up a human rights protection committee with the SAWP, it will take up the case of the convicted soldier Tomo Bogataj.

Citizens Protest in Ljubljana

AU2707194488 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 88 p 3

[S. Gajevic report: "Democracy in Banners"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Jul—As a sign of protest, about 100 citizens gathered in front of the Military Court building in Ljubljana again today. The banners brought to Roska Street, where the court is located, hung in trees or were raised high in the hands of the crowd are intended to express a protest about the trial of Ivan Borstner, Janez Jansa, David Tasic, and Franci Zavrl, accused of betraying military secrets.

Some 15 banners are inscribed with various messages: "The slopes of Rog have been sacred to us; Roska Street, Ljubljana, is damned"; "The innocent Dachau inmates were sentenced to death right here"; "Tell us in whose name you are trying them"; "Ivan, David, Jansa, Franci, you will tell your offspring about this"; "Leave us our democracy"; "The Slovene people will decide on its fate alone."

As on previous days, a sort of a "honor guard" stood at the entrance to the Military Court building today, and it was constantly changed. The guard, consisting of two citizens with a Slovene flag on their left sides, stand at attention in front of the Military Court building, and hold an unfurled Slovene flag. On the pavement between this "guard" and the two soldiers at the entrance to the court, flowers were placed

again today. Drivers driving along the street greeted the crowd with two fingers raised in a victory sign, and those gathered responded with applause. Children were again a part of the decor in front of the court. Flowers were distributed and carried in groups by the demonstrators across the street and placed at the court entrance, and some kind of voluntary contributions were collected.

It appears that the pressure against the Military Court in Ljubljana will continue in the days to come. Rumors were circulating among the crowd today to the effect that the trial will not be concluded today as the accused Franci Zavrl, who is free while standing trial, announced, but it will continue because new witnesses have been summoned as one could hear today.

Slovene Party Protests Trial

LD2807091388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0032 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Ljubljana, July 27 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the Republic of Slovenia demanded this evening that the Yugoslav Presidency re-examine its stand that the use of Serbocroat in the Ljubljana Military Court is not unconstitutional, assessing it as formalistic and ill-considered.

Such a demand had already been presented by the Slovenian Presidency and the leadership of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia, the most massive socio-political organisation.

The Slovenian Assembly also protested over the fact that the trial of three journalists and a sergeant-major, sentenced today for leaking military secrets, was conducted in Serbocroat—the majority language in Yugoslavia—instead in Slovenian.

The Presidency of Yugoslavia said on the issue that the decision of the Ljubljana Military Court was in accordance with a law on military courts, under which all languages of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia are equal. The court's decision cannot be branded as unlawful and unconstitutional since the defendants were allowed to use Slovenian and an interpreter was secured, the Yugoslav State Presidency said.

The Slovenian Party Presidency, however, stressed this evening that the authorities consulted by the Yugoslav Presidency had not correctly abided by the Yugoslav Constitution, which states that all national languages can be used in federal organs, which include military courts and military prosecutors' offices. Under the Slovenian Constitution, Slovenian is used in all state organs on the territory of the republic, the Slovenian Party Presidency said, adding that therefore the decision of the military court on the use of Serbocroat was unconstitutional.

Slovenian party leader Milan Kucan warned that the question of language at the trial in the Ljubljana Military Court was a question of the sovereignty of the Slovene people. He asked whether the Slovenian sovereignty in Yugoslavia was really limited as can be heard in the public, who was charged with protecting it and how to oppose the growing centralist and unitarianist tendencies.

Slovenes cannot regard as their own any state which does not secure the use of their mother tongue and its equality, and in which the freedom, sovereignty and equality of the Slovene people is not guaranteed, Kucan said.

The trial of three journalists and a sergeant-major has assumed the characteristics of a political process and aggravated the political mood in Slovenia, warned the Slovenian party leader. He stressed that it should be answered why none of the requests of the Slovenian political organs and the Slovene public (for the accused to defend themselves in freedom, for the trial to be public and in Slovenian and for the accused to have civilian lawyers) was adopted, since their aim was to strengthen the confidence in military courts and the Yugoslav People's Army.

The Slovenian party believes that everything possible should be done in order to secure that the relations between the Slovenes and the Yugoslav People's Army remain good, as befits relations between a nation and its army, Kucan stressed.

LCY CC Presidium on Debating Amendments

LD2707195188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—At the session which ended late last night, the LCY Presidium Committee Presidium reiterated the need for the federal, republican, and provincial party leaderships to invest maximum efforts to considerably reduce the number of controversial issues regarding amendments to the SFRY Constitution. During the debate on a report concerning preparatory work on the proposed amendments to the federal Constitution, the Presidium agreed that a well-reasoned debate should be used as an instrument for overcoming differences and jointly formulating acceptable solutions. Priority should, of course, be given to the task of removing constitutional obstacles to the efficient implementation of economic reform.

In his introductory remarks Vidoje Zarkovic stressed that part of the socioeconomic system would be changed a great deal more than actually envisoned by the draft amendments. This, however, is not the case with the changes in the political system or the changes in the sphere of relations in the federation. Owing to a large number of controversial issues there is a real danger, he warned, that the number of changes in these two areas will be smaller than envisioned by the draft amendments.

Zarkovic went on to say that the SFRY Assembly's Constitutional Commission is nevertheless expected to adopt a working text of the proposed amendments and to

submit it to the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber by mid-August. This would enable us to adopt the constitutional changes within the envisioned period, i.e. by 29 November 1988.

He noted that the Constitutional Commission had yet to coordinate stands on 22 outstanding issues. These refer primarily to the structure of the SFRY Assembly, the constitution of the SFRY Presidency, a number of provisions concerning socioeconomic relations, and a whole series of issues concerning the federation's powers.

Special attention should be paid to those stands which remain uncoordinated simply because one representative of the Constitution Commission—of either a republican or provincial assembly—had reservations about issues on which all the other representatives had agreed. It is, therefore, of exceptional importance that the LC leaderships in both the republics and provinces and, in particular, those whose representatives have the largest number of objections, to involve themselves in the work on resolving and achieving harmonization.

The work carried out by the coordinating working group so far has vindicated, Zarkovic said, the LCY Conference's stand that as soon as the changes are adopted work should start on preparing a new text of the SFRY Constitution. There is a great number of issues requiring thorough examination. There is also a need for the federal Constitution to be rid of excessive normativism and to be made shorter, more concise, and up to date.

Zarkovic suggested that, either at the end of September or beginning of October, the LCY Central Committee should meet to formulate a clear ideopolitical assessment of the proposed amendments.

In light of the differences within the coordinating working group, he called on the LCY Central Committee to give its view on three of the issues. First, whether the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should continue to be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency; second, the manner of electing members of the SFRY Presidency;. and third, the duration of the mandate of the SFRY Presidency's president and vice president.

The coordinating working group is more or less unanimous that the LCY Central Committee Presidium president should no longer be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. I have been informed, Zarkovic added, that the majority view within the SFRY Presidency itself is to the contrary. Zarkovic suggested a compromise solution in the case of the election of the SFRY Presidency members here views are divided over whether the members should continue to be elected by their respective republican or provincial assemblies or whether that should be carried out by the SFRY Assembly. As for the duration of the mandate of the SFRY Presidency's president and vice president, there are those who think that it should continue to be for 1 year but there are also a great number of those who think it should be extended to 2 or even 4 years.

An exceptionally important issue which remains open concerns the calls for introducing the chamber of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. Despite all the differences surrounding this issue, I am not sure that we can simply say, why not leave it for the next stage of constitutional changes, Zarkovic concluded.

Marko Orlandic, the first to take part in the ensuing debate, warned of the danger of a constitutional crisis on one hand and of the failure to meet people's expectations on the other. To emerge from the crisis, the LC has the duty to ensure victory for those reforms of vital importance. It is therefore expected to react promptly to prevent any difficulties from arising.

Insisting that some of the important proposals made during the public debate and concerning the draft amendments to the federal Constitution had not been heeded, Orlandic stressed that the public deserves an explanation of why this had not been done. In his view, there are system-related reasons for introducing the chamber of associated labor but the arguments for and against should once again be carefully examined.

Orlandic cannot see why the republics and provinces should not decide on the candidature, by secret ballot, for membership in the SFRY Presidency and why the final election should not be carried out in the SFRY Assembly. He also favors extending the mandate of the president and his vice president to 4 years and insists that the same should be done in all the institutions of the system.

In the case of the issue of whether the LCY Central Committee Presidium president should continue to be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency, Orlandic thinks that before any decision is made, all arguments that have been put forward should be carefully examined.

In addition, the national anthem and the flag must become constitutional categories. Strikes should not be banned by the Constitution, Orlandic said. [passage omitted]

The SFRY Presidency, Mutapcic said, should be elected by the SFRY Assembly at the proposal of the republican and provincial assemblies and in consultation with the SAWPY federal conference. The provision arrived at by the coordinating group under which the election should be carried out by the republics and provinces and verified by the SFRY Assembly deserves to be further examined. Finally, in line with the LCY conference's theses, the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should not be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency, Mutapcic said. [passage omitted]

In Renovica's view, the mandate of the SFRY Presidency's president and vice president should be extended to "2-plus-2 year" period. Members of the SFRY Presidency should be nominated by the republics and provinces through secret ballot and elected by the SFRY Assembly. Renovica said that there was a number of principled reasons for the LCY Central Committee Presidium president not to be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. The issue should be further considered, he added.

Dusan Ckrebic also supports the view that the candidature for members of the SFRY Presidency should be established by the republican and provincial assemblies and the election carried out in the SFRY Assembly by secret ballot. He also favors introducing the chamber of associated labor into the SFRY Assembly, adding that the LC must listen to workers' arguments. In Ckrebic's view the president of the LCY Central Comittee Presidium should not continue to be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. [passage omitted]

Kucan favors the abolition of the constitutional provision giving the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium the right to be member of the SFRY Presidency. He insists, however, that the issue should be considered within the context of a comprehensive discussion of the LCY constitutional position. The election of the SFRY Presidency members should be left to the republics and provinces, Kucan thinks. Criticizing the 1-year mandate, Kucan said that this issue called for a thorough analysis. In his view, the issue of the SFRY Assembly's structure is not a simple one either. The right degree of harmonization of national and class interests and of citizens' interests will have to be found.

Calling the proposal to include the socialist alliance in the candidature procedure for electing members of the SFRY Presidency good, Raif Dizdarevic said that the final solutions would still to have be looked for within the framework of the existing ones. The possibility of verification by the SFRY Assembly should not be excluded, he noted, and he called for a balance in the SFRY Presidency members' position and their responsibility to their respective republican or provincial assemblies. The Constitution should envision the situation where a member of the SFRY Presidency is released from office before his mandate expires if he fails to act in line with the Federal Constitution or law.

It would be useful to retain the provision under which the LCY Central Committee Presidium president is an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. In reference to the duration of the mandate, Dizdarevic said that there are more reasons than not for maintaining the status quo. As for the structure of the SFRY Assembly, it is of vital importance that the number of delegates from associated labor in the two chambers is increased. A body of self-managers is not a suitable solution.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium, Jakov Lazarovski said, should adopt clear ideo-political stands not only on individual but also on a whole series of questions on amendments to the Federal Constitution. Of particular significance are proposed solutions which refer to investments by foreigners, shareholding, and a bond market. An explanation should also be offered for abandonment of the constitutional concept of a basic organization of associated labor which would result in changes to the basic principles of the SFRY Constitution.

Lazarovski believes that radical changes should not be carried out in the structure of the SFRY Assembly. According to him, members of the SFRY Presidency should be elected in the republics and provinces and then endorsed by the Federal Assembly through a secret vote. [passage omitted]

Saying that we should not allow a constitutional crisis, Stanko Stojcevic said that attention should primarily be directed toward eliminating deformations in the development of self-management. In the SFRY Constitution, as well as in the Constitutions of the republics and provinces, he believes, the LC's position should be defined.

Stojcevic said that the president of the LCY Central Committee should not be an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency. The members of the State Presidency, he said, should be elected in such a way that the Republican and Provincial Assemblies elect two candidates in a secret vote, while the final election would be held in the SFRY Assembly. He believes that at least for the time being the mandate of the members of the SFRY Presidency should remain unchanged. As far as the SFRY Assembly is concerned, at this stage, according to him, a way out should be sought in defining an appropriate authority for the republics and provinces and the Federal Chamber.

It is very important, Franc Setinc stressed, that the starting bases for a new constitution are established as soon as possible. He also opposes the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium also being a member of the SFRY Presidency. This does not help society at all but does just the opposite, he said, in particular since the more logical proposal that the president of the SAWPY Federal Conference should be member of the Presidency has not been endorsed.

Setinc favors extending mandates, but not at this stage, since this is a question of long-term importance which should be looked at in detail. I have nothing against introducing a chamber of associated labor, but it seems to me that by doing that we would not gain anything. The influence of associated labor should be strengthened from "below" if we want it to be stronger in the assembly system, Setinc believes.

On the basis of all the information about amendments to the Federal Constitution, Slobodan Milosevic concluded that there were many reasons for great concern. Without doubt,

the main conclusion of the LCY conference that the economic reform should be implemented by the end of the year is under threat. Therefore, it is necessary to eliminate as soon as possible all constitutional blockades which fetter the economic reform. This should be of primary importance, Milosevic said, because if we wait for all the questions on which the reform depends then we will be late.

Concluding this debate, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said that despite different opinions it was necessary to find the best solutions. The Presidium should not adopt firm stands on some of the most concrete questions, but for the party leaderships it is exceptionally significant to reduce the number of unsolved questions on constitutional changes. We shall probably not be able to reduce this number to zero. If we still cannot agree on some changes, we should keep the present solutions.

This fall we should hold a Central Committee session devoted to constitutional changes and then announce work on the new constitution. During the remaining work on the present constitutional changes attention should be mainly on the elimination of constitutional obstacles to economic reform.

Commenting later on several concrete questions which were debated, Suvar said that without doubt solutions should be found which strengthened the influence of associated labor in the SFRY Assembly. In this debate the prevailing view was that mandates should be prolonged, as well as the stand that the entire country should have some influence on who should be a member of the SFRY Presidency. In this we should not raise the question of the right of the republics and provinces to elect and put forward candidates. The prevailing view was also that the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium should not be an ex officio member of the SFRY Presidency, Stipe Suvar concluded.

When the session resumed, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed the starting point for reforming the economic system, assessing that a significant step has been taken in choosing the right methods and solutions which the reform should contain. It is exceptionally important, it was stressed, to ensure a consistent implementation of the stands of the LCY conference on the reform and that the FEC Commission completes its work on changes to the economic system by the deadline. In the meantime, it is also necessary to resolve some questions of changes. A session of the LCY Central Committee devoted to the economic reform should be held in September.

Dusan Ckrebic, who submitted an introductory report, stressed that the commission to reform the FEC had worked quickly and efficiently and had significantly made up for delays in previous periods. Most of the solutions put forward are based on the LCY congress' long-term program of economic stabilization and decisions. [passage omitted]

Ckrebic continued: does it not seem that the present juncture is of key importance for a reaffirmation of self-management, since there are demands for a resolute reduction of state intervention and it is envisaged that collectives should be independent in making decisions and bearing responsibility for their economic affairs, while associated labor should be organized independently. We are facing new real chances to affirm the workers' self-managing position.

Even 30 years after its adoption, the LCY program gives us enough room to find the necessary and modern solutions for social and economic development. It has been and remains our mainstay for everything which is new and progressive, Ckrebic commented. [passage omitted]

In a debate lasting several hours, many suggestions were made for preparing proposals for the comprehensive economic reform, whose constituent part should be a social program. After commenting that the basic assumptions for the reform are, on the whole, acceptable, Stefan Korosec proposed that certain segments of the economic system should be developed in accordance with these assumptions. Among other things, he spoke in favor of an integrated market, further development of socialist self-management, and the functions of commodity production. [passage omitted]

By the end of September the SFRY Assembly should receive all the laws necessary for implementing the reform and a public debate will present an opportunity both for science and delegates to pass their views on it, Milos Milosavljevic said. That is why many questions can be more fully explained, viewed, and additionally analyzed in this democratic debate, which means that we should not aim to find final answers to all questions, all of which are essentially not of ideological character, Milosavljevic suggested. He explained some proposed reform solutions in detail, with the comment that the theses of the LCY conference also represented a good basis for preparations of the draft law. [passage omitted]

The starting basis and work on establishing guidelines for the reform of certain segments of the economic system, after the stands of the LCY conference, have gone so far that some of the ideological questions are already explained, is the view of Milanko Renovica, who suggested that more thought should be devoted to some questions and the experience of others should be examined. For example, the questions of whether foreign enterprises should be formed in the entire country or only in duty-free zones. How to use bonds and the position of banks should be examined. He said that efforts should also be made to eliminate dilemmas about the distribution of personal incomes in two parts. [passage omitted]

Milan Kucan expressed the view that some doctrinary dilemmas will be overcome. It is important to explain to the party and public at large which things in the new economic system will be reformed. It is necessary that society, its members, communities, and production units

adopt to new conditions. Action should also be directed toward making organizations of associated labor capable of carrying out business as enterprise. It is also necessary to establish what is meant by a social program and who should be the author of it and bear the responsibility for its implementation so that it does not turn out that we favor economic solutions and leave social problems for somebody else to deal with. [Passage omitted]

Draft laws necessary for the implementation of the reform of the economic system will be completed in September. They will be tested in a number of organizations, and the intention is to send draft laws to as many collectives as possible for discussion, Branko Mikulic pointed out. On certain questions we have also chosen alternatives, and if need be, on some of the issues we shall go with alternative draft laws, since the most important thing is to find good solutions.

According to the present assessments we need a total of 38 laws, out of which 25 depend on constitutional changes. Together they make a whole. We should not be afraid of the number of laws, since once they are adopted many regulations will become invalid. Presently, for example, the tax system alone is regulated by more than a hundred laws.

In the commission we are working on proposing clear solutions, Mikulic said. We will put forward the solutions we consider best and after that we will discuss ideological aspects of individual questions.

The FEC president said that apart from social property which should be further strengthened, it is also envisaged to develop other forms of property, and instead of developing the economy on the basis of credits, it is envisaged to have pooling and to introduce bonds. Those who invest funds should be given the opportunity in proportion to their investments, to take part in management, business activity, shared risks, income and profits. It is proposed to have joint investments instead of foreign credits to form mixed enterprises and those fully owned by foreigners and to give concessions, particularly in transportation infrastructure and the so-called time-sharing of our facilities, Mikulic said.

The Presidium also discussed a report on implementing the theses of the 24th Session of the LCY Central Committee on income and social reproduction funds.

At the end of a day-long session, the Presidium heard a report by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC CC Presidium, on the question of the use of the Slovene language at the trial before the Ljubljana military court. The Presidium established that these questions should be discussed at one of the next sessions, within the framework of the earlier planned discussion on the topical questions of the realization of the language policy, that is, the use of the languages of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia.

Zarkovic on Amendment Questions

LD2707183788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, July 27 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC) has called on Yugoslavia's republican and provincial party leaderships to exert efforts so as to reduce to a minimum the number of matters in dispute related to changes in the Federal Constitution.

At its session wound up late last night, the Yugoslav top party circles called for solving—through a well-argumented debate—the disputes on which depends an efficient implementation of economic reforms and for lifting a blockade of the Constitution.

Changes in the 1974 Constitution may come to an end only as foreseen—by the next November's end, the party Presidency evaluated.

Draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution leave 22 questions open, Vidoje Zarkovic, a member of the Federal Constitutional Commission, said. The bulk of uncoordinated proposals deals with alterations in the field of political system, particularly those within the federation's competence. Also in dispute are the structure and way of the Federal Assembly's functioning, then the constitutional status of the Presidency of Yugoslavia. In the field of socio-economic order, provisions concerning ownership, a unique market, extra income and taxation system have brought about the most of disagreements.

The Republic of Slovenia brought forward the most of objections to the proposed solutions.

A draft of constitutional changes with questions left open will be sent in mid-August to the Federal chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia for approval, Zarkovic announced.

Needed for changes in the Yugoslav Constitution is a consensus of Yugoslavia's six republican and two provincial assemblies. If only one of them does not accept draft amendments to be defined by the Federal Chamber, all the proceedings for changing the Constitution must be adjourned for a year's time.

Bearing in mind the constitutional procedure and differences arisen, the innermost leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia drew attention to the danger of a constitutional crisis. Some essential proposals from the three-month-long public debate have not entered the draft amendments, they warned, calling on the Presidency of Yugoslavia to pronounce themselves regarding such questions in dispute as the way of electing the Presidency of Yugoslavia, extension of one-year terms for the president and the vice-president of Yugoslavia, and a proposal that the LCY president be no longer a member of collective Presidency of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav party's topmost leadership concluded that, above all, one should do away with disputes over questions on which the implementation of economic reforms depends. In cases in which an agreement is impossible to reach, the present solutions should be kept provided that preparations should start immediately for working out a new Constitution for Yugoslavia.

New FEC Members Elected at Assembly Session

LD2807095988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0857 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—At a session held today delegates of both chambers of the SFRY Assembly elected new members of the Federal Executive Council. Dr Radoslav Bohinjc was elected federal secretary for Agriculture, Dr Dragi Donev was elected president of the Federal Committee for Transportation and Communications, and Franc Horvat was elected president of the Federal Committee for Tourism. Dr Stevo Mirjanic, Dzevad Muszinovic, Jovo Panajatovic, and Boris Rikalovski also became members of the FEC.

Delegates of both chambers relieved Miodrag Mirovic, formally president of the Federal Committee for Tourism, in order to create conditions for an appropriate representation of cadres from the republics and provinces.

The following were relieved of their duties as members of the so-called parity section of the FEC: Radovan Makic (for health reasons), Dr Ibrahim Tabakovic (for family reasons) and Mito Pejovski and Dr Dragi Danev, who are taking up new posts.

Suvar Proclaimed Ex-Officio Presidency Member

LD2807084588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0810 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—A joint session of the chambers of the Yugoslav Assembly today proclaimed Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, an ex-officio member of the SFRY Presidency.

Members of the SFRY Presidency are: Raif Dizdarevic from Bosnia-Hercegovina; Veselin Djuranovic from Montenegro; Josip Vrhovec from Croatia; Lazar Mojsov from Macedonia; Stane Dolanc from Slovenia; Nikola Ljubicic from Serbia; Sinan Hasani from Kosovo; Radovan Vlajkovic from Vojvodina; and Dr Stipe Suvar, ex-officio member.

Serbian LC on Serbs, Montegegrins in Kosovo

LD2707174088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic in Serbo-Croatian 1537 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—At today's session of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, presided over by Slobodan Milosevic, preparations were discussed for the LCY Central Committee plenum on Kosovo, scheduled for 29 July.

The Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium extends the following message in connection with the announced intention of a large number of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to come to Belgrade during the LCY Central Committee plenum:

We are very familiar with all the pressures and injustice that the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo face. We are fighting with all our strength to solve the Kosovo problem. We are convinced that everyone in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia can see this.

Just like the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, we are not satisfied with the results. The main reason for this is that emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo has not been halted even 7 years after the counterrevolution. The rights and freedoms of all citizens, especially the Serbs and Montenegrins, have not been guaranteed. However, crucial steps are being taken at this very moment in order to establish Serbia's authority over its entire territory, which will ensure the application of law and other measures necessary for a civilized and just life for all citizens in Kosovo. In this respect, we are about to achieve this goal by changing the Serbian Constitution; draft amendments were unanimously adopted by the republic's Assembly 2 days ago.

As we know, over the last year we have—as emphasized at the 12th Serbian LC Central Committee session—concentrated on tackling the Kosovo problem. The Serbian LC is in this respect united and resolute and has the widest support of the working class and nations and nationalities of Serbia. At the upcoming session of the LCY Central Committee we will push for the adoption of the following tasks on the basis of the conclusions of the ninth LCY Central Committtee plenum and the theses of the Serbian LC Central Committee:

1. To establish the personal responsibility of all those who are responsible for implementing the conclusions on Kosovo and who failed to carry out this duty in keeping with their functions in the federation, republics, and provinces.

2. To demand that the SFRY presidency take urgent measures to protect the lives and property of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo as provided by the Constitution.

3. The LCY Central Committee Presidium should raise the issue of political responsibility for public offences which undermined and tried to invalidate the policy of the Serbian LC and the LCY in the hard struggle for resolving the Kosovo drama. In this way, the differences were becoming greater; the unity and efficiency of the LCY threatened; and indirect objective support was also given to the counterrevolution in Kosovo.

4. We will insist on resolutely dealing with all the forces which oppose and hinder the consistent realization of the LCY policy in Kosovo, putting an end to all forms of compromise, opportunism, and indecision in carrying out the clearly defined tasks of the ninth LCY Central Committee plenum.

5. We will insist that the LCY Central Committee session be open to the public during the entire proceedings so that everyone can have an opportunity to follow its work.

Proceeding from all this, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium appeals to all the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to not come to Belgrade during the LCY Central Committee session.

We see the announcement of the arrival as the expression of the seriousness of the Kosovo situation, with all the dangers that go with it. At the same time, we make the strongest demand that everyone in Yugoslavia should carry out their duties.

By appealing against the arrival in Belgrade at the time of the LCY Central Committee session, we by no means call into question the just dissatisfaction of the Serbs and Montenegrins over living conditions in the province, demands for ensuring justice in Kosovo, or their present activity aimed at learning the full truth about Kosovo. However, at this moment of increased support by all workers and Communists in Yugoslavia for solving the problems in Kosovo, the arrival in Belgrade will not help.

We believe that we will succeed in fighting for the realization of the LCY policy on Kosovo with the support of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo who remain there, as well as the Albanians and all the other nationalities in Kosovo, with the support of all the workers, citizens, and Communists of Serbia which we have recently gained and with the support of the working class, progressive people, and Communists in Yugoslavia.

Reporting of Pancevo Protest Criticized

AU2707163588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 88 p 4

[Ernest Lacko report: "Live Relay and Indirect Criticism"]

[Text] Pancevo, 25 Jul—In Pancevo there has been a lot of discussion about Saturday's [23 July] event when over 5,000 Vojvodina citizens, including several hundred people from Belgrade and Smederevo, gave full support to the complete constitutional changes and advocated changes in the situation in Kosovo. At the same time, the work of the local radio station is also being assessed; its journalists occasionally reported live from the site of the event and a portion of the speech in front of the Communal Assembly building was also carried live. Along with many appraisals by citizens and colleagues, Pancevo Radio journalists received reproaches over the telephone for carrying events live, and received demands that this be stopped. Not one of the critics has given his name.

When the large group of citizens started walking along the Yugoslav People's Army Street toward the bus station, both Mirko Kovacevic, chief radio editor, and Stanko Zeng, editor of the political-information program, were already there. In the occasional live relays included in the program, they informed the listeners about what was happening in the streets of Pancevo, and when a loudspeaker from Radio Pancevo was put on the balcony of the Pancevo Communal Assembly building, they set up equipment which allowed the words of the speakers to be relayed directly. We have unofficially discovered that Mirko Kovacevic, the chief editor of Radio Pancevo, was invited that same evening to be a guest on Belgrade Television's third news program, for which he had previously made a report. He refused the invitation this time and we could not find out why for he is on his annual vacation.

The news quickly swept through the town today that people from the town's sociopolitical organizations would nevertheless be listening to the radio station's tape of the broadcasts, which should not be considered as a new attack on work which has been carried out professionally. According to Djura Pavlov, member of the Vojvodina LC Pancevo Communal Committee, it is true that the tape of the broadcasts will be listened to, but only because the Pancevo leaders were in one place and were unable to get an insight into all the events. This insight, however, is essential for them, as they have to give an assessment of the gathering of citizens in Pancevo.

In its report, promised to citizens and journalists, the Vojvodina SAWP Communal Conference of Pancevo will probably assess how the journalists of not only Radio Pancevo, but also of other branches of the media, carried out their work. It has been said that this report will be completed as soon as possible and can even be expected this week.

Pancevo Leaflet Denounces Vojvodina Leaders

AU2707171088 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jul 88 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Pancevo Leaflet"]

[Text] Saturday's protest meeting in Pancevo even had its own "overture." This involved a leaflet addressed to "all working people of Pancevo and the surrounding area of Banat, Backa, and Srem," which was distributed throughout the town on the eve of the gathering. The following was written in the leaflet:

"They mention us in well-intentioned and malicious discussions, speeches, and articles. Do we, who have shown in our actions in the last 40 years how 22 nations can live in brotherhood and harmony, deserve to be called separatists and autonomists by them? Is it not wrong that they say that we are defenders of the Constitution and that we do not contribute to solving the problems of Kosovo? Is it our fault that some of our senior leaders, on our behalf, have prevented every attempt to move away from the deadlock in solving the Kosovo questions?

Why, comrades, should we be bothered by unity in Serbia and Yugoslavia? We need a constitution which will make this possible, as it will also expand our freedoms. We want a united judiciary, security, national defense, and relations with foreign countries.

Why would any person from Srem, Banat, or Backa be against that?

We are not bothered by any of the constitutional changes; we even want them as they are all in our interest.

In any case, we have already said this in the public discussion about the constitutional changes. However, our words and wishes have not reached the wider public. They have remained buried in the local communities, associations, and committees. The public has only discovered what our leaders wanted and it discovered that we oppose the misuse of the wishes that we have expressed. Our leaders officially advocate what their people do not want. We therefore want to say publicly that they can no longer speak on our behalf. We cannot be represented by people like: Krunic, Stojsic, Radosavljevic, and Matic.

Who is bothered by the unity of the peoples of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

Our brothers from Kosovo have announced that they will be coming to Pancevo on Saturday 23 July 1988 at 1100 in the morning to seek our support for an urgent change to the situation in Kosovo.

Let us welcome them in a brotherly and comradely way.

[Signed] The working people and citizens of Pancevo and the surrounding area.

Kosovo Committee Calls Off March to Belgrade

LD2807004288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2144 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Pristina, 27 Jul (TANJUG)—There is no need to go to Belgrade, the committee organizing the citizens' departure to Belgrade decided this evening at a meeting in Kosovo Polje.

The most responsible officials in the Pristina LC Municipal Committee and the Kosovo Polje LC Regional Conference met in Kosovo Polje with the members of the coordination committee in charge of organizing the citizens' departure to Belgrade. The talks this evening were also attended by Zika Radojlovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee, who extended the Serbian LC CC Presidium's message to this gathering. Afterwards Mico Sparavalo, chairman of the committee organizing the departure to Belgrade, read the committee's message stating that the committee had decided that there was no longer a need to go to Belgrade at the time of the holding of the LCY Central Committee Plenum. When organizing the departure for Belgrade, Sparavalo went on, the committee had invited a large number of individuals and some work organizations from the entire territory of Serbia to express support and solidarity with their presence for the justified demands of the Kosovo people. Therefore, the committee is asking all those invited and any others who intended to join them to give up their intention, because without the presence of people from Kosovo, their departure would be harmful and could be abused by malicious individuals who, unfortunately, carry out responsible duties, he said. We stress, Sparavalo quoted, that if this plenum does not satisfy our expectations in Kosovo and if its decisions are not realized, neither the committee nor any other forum will be able to halt the departure of Serbs and Montenegrins to a protest meeting in Belgrade.

Protest Meetings in Serbia Continue

AU2607163488[Editorial Report] Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 19 July on pages 1 and 5-9 carries reports totalling 13,000 words under the general heading, "Reaction to the Delayed Publication of the Discussion at the Closed Part of the Session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina," describing Serbian protest meetings and telegrams opposing Vojvodina leaders for their denunciation of the 9 July Kosovo march in Novi Sad. At the same time, these meetings and telegrams express support for the Serbian leadership and personally for Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia.

On page 1, under the headline "The People Have Decided," POLITIKA provides the keynote in an unattributed 400-word report which opens with the following passage: "Numerous mass protest meetings were held all over Serbia again yesterday, in connection with the statements by some leaders of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, and particularly because of the subsequent and unprincipled release to the public of the closed part of the session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina. Meetings are also held in many collectives in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, where one can hear fierce criticism of the conduct of some Vojvodina leaders, conduct which is without precedent in the political history of socialist Yugoslavia."

The report lists some of the meetings held and says: "All these meetings expressed unreserved support for the leadership of the SR of Serbia, the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and especially for Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. A common trait of all these protest meetings is the demands for determining political responsibility and for the dismissal of Bosko Krunic, Djordje Radosavljevic, Petar Matic, and Djordje Stojsic."

Another article on page 1, a 600-word unattributed report entitled "Unreserved Support for the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia and Its President Slobodan Milosevic Because of Their Valiant Implementation of the Action to Strengthen Unity in the

SR of Serbia," quotes "telegrams to the leadership of the SR of Serbia" sent from meetings held in Serbian collectives. The telegram sent by workers of the Belgrade University Clinical Center and the Faculty of Medicine expresses "full support for the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, its Presidium, and its President Slobodan Milosevic in their efforts for economic, social, and constitutional reform in the SR of Serbia." Other telegrams quoted were sent by the Zelengora plant at Umka, the Prokuplje Nonferrous Metals Plant, and the Zupa Chemical Plant of Krusevac.

Pages 5-9 carry the general heading "Reaction to the Delayed Publication of the Discussion at the Closed Part of the Session of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina" as a banner across the top of each page.

The entire page 5 is devoted to a 2,500-word report on an expanded session of the Presidium of the Veterans Federation of Belgrade by V. Vujic and D. Cvarkovic. Under the banner headline "Recall of Bosko Krunic and Petar Matic Requested," they report that "the gathering expressed a unanimous demand that Bosko Krunic should be recalled from the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Petar Matic from his position of president of the Yugoslav Veterans Federation."

Page 6 carries an unattributed 1,800-word report entitled "Bureaucrats Will Not Deprive Us of Unity" which quotes further telegrams from the "working people and citizens" of the Prokuplje commune; the Boris Kidric Nuclear Institute of Vinca; "the workers" of the 14 October Plant of Krusevac; "the sociopolitical organizations" of the Rakovica Motors Plant; "the working people" of the Kostolac and Drmno electricity combines; "the Communists of Zmaj"; "the workers" of the 8 September Building Materials Plant of Vladicin Han; "the workers" of the Prva Petoletka Plant in Trstenik; "the communists, the youth, and the working people" of Nevena Chemical Plant of Leskovac; "the workers" of the Braca Vuksanovic Rubber Goods Plant of Blace; "the workers" of the Machines and Tractors plant of Boljevac; "the workers" of the Miloje Zakic plant of Krusevac; "the working people" of Des of Belgrade; "the workers" of Elind of Valjevo; "the working people" of a special equipment plant of Simicevo; 450 workers of Treci Oktobar plant of Raska; "the working people" of the Nis Road Enterprise; "the workers" of the Nikodije Stojanovic-Tako Felt Plant of Toplica; "the working people" of the Prokupac Work Organization of Prokuplje; the Presidium of the Veterans Federation of Bajina Basta; "the communists of Grocka, Barajevo, and Mladenovac, workers of Centroprom of Surcin, the Smederevo Metallurgical Combine, the Rekord of Rakovica, and of the Crvena Zastava Plant of Kragujevac"; and the Pozarevac Agricultural-Industrial Combine.

Page 6 also carries reports on more meetings of support for the Serbia's leadership: a 400-word report by S. Todorovic from Bor entitled "Now We Know The People Who Hinder" on "several protest gatherings of workers and veterans" in Bor; a 500-word report by A. Davinic from Leskovac entitled "So That Trains Would Not Run on Two Tracks" on local railroadmen's meeting and other meetings in Leskovac collectives; a 200-word report by Z. Nikolic from Krusevac under the title "Resistance to Constitutional Changes is Counterrevolution" telling of meetings "in the largest Krusevac work collectives"; and a 200-word TANJUG report from Zubin Potok entitled "The Leadership of the SR of Serbia Conducts an Upright and Correct Policy," telling of a Zubin Potok Veterans Presidium meeting.

Page 6 also contains, boxed and in bold print, a 200-word TANJUG report from Novi Sad entitled "Workers of Jugoalat of Novi Sad Expect More Unity and Greater Legal Security from the Constitutional Changes." It reports on an "expanded session of the LC Conference Presidium, the Presidium of the Trade Unions, and the Presidium of the Youth Federation of this collective. The meeting discussed current questions and events provoked by discussions at the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina and the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia." Its conclusions say that "Jugoalat workers in their public discussion of the constitutional changes unanimously decided for more unity, more equality, greater legal security, and a faster overcoming of all forms of nationalist and bureaucratic assaults on the revolutionary achievements and foundations of the socialist system." There is no mention of any condemnation of Vojvodina leaders or any support for Serbian leaders.

Page 7 carries a 1,000-word commentary by Petar Ilic entitled "Who Is Afraid of Reality" which says: "The essence of the present drama of a strong bureaucracy is a panic-like fear that the people, every person, may perhaps feel participants in making their life more noble, even at the cost of personal sacrifice and renunciation." Ilic remarks that "it is no wonder that precisely at the moment when the LCY conference demands urgent economic and social reform, the bureaucrats are joining in secret, but recognizable personal unions, making their target everyone who wants to implement this reform with the healthy power of the people, and not the false and rotten will of drones in cushy jobs." "Let us not wonder that these parasitic layabouts are perturbed by the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia."

Ilic says: "A monstruous slander, calculated to split up and to destroy the unity of the LC of Serbia, has emanated from a part of the Vojvodina leadership: It alleges that the Serbian leadership wants a greater Serbia and a third Yugoslavia.

"The fact is that the Serbian leadership—and we are deeply convinced, every honest person in this country—does not want such a Serbia and disunited Yugoslavia; it does not want a backward Serbia, and it does not want a third Yugoslavia, but a Yugoslavia which will not be the third least developed country in Europe."

Serbia does not want anything more than what other republics have, Ilic asserts. "Do such strivings by Serbia inflame passions or are passions inflamed by those who want a confederal Yugoslavia; and perhaps regarding the SR of Serbia, three passports in a single republic and two Albanias in the Balkans?"

"The answers are more than clear to all those who cherish democratic Yugoslavia," Ilic concludes.

Page 7 also contains further reports on protest meetings. A 200-word report by I.T. from Majdanpek is entitled "Krunic, Matic, and Stojsic Ready to Bring Down Yugoslavia to Preserve Their Offices." The report attributes this statement to Slobodan Dragasan, a worker at the copper flotation plant, who made it at a meeting of Majdanpek miners. A 700-word report by B.C. entitled "Factional Activities by Some Vojvodina Leaders" reports on a protest meeting at the Mihajlo Pupin Institute in Belgrade, from which "the working people" of the institute sent telegrams to the LCY Presidium and the Presidium of the LC of Serbia. A 400-word report by Z. Matic from Bujanovac is entitled "Petar Matic's Resignation and Loss of His Rank Demanded." It reports on a meeting of the Presidium of the Bujanovac Veterans Federation. A 300-word report by Z.Z. from Kosovo Polje entitled "Encouragement for the Irredentists" tells of a Kosovo Polje Veterans Federation meeting at which it was said that "veterans are indignant at the statements by Petar Matic, Djordje Stojsic, Milovan Sogorov, Silvija Zugic-Rijavec, Djordje Radosavljevic, and Bosko Krunic."

Page 8 contains more reports on protest meetings. A 600-word report by T. Vujic entitled "We Want a Unified Serbia, Strong Self-Managing Yugoslavia" tells of a protest meeting in the yard of the 21 May Plant in Rakovica, Belgrade, attended by workers from other Rakovica collectives and "representatives of sociopolitical organizations" of the commune. They expressed their "full support for the leadership of the republic and for the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, and especially for Slobodan Milosevic." A 200-word report by M.V. from Pristina, entitled "A Telegram to the Veterans Federation to Replace Matic," reports on a brief work stoppage and protest meeting at the Radioton plant of Batus near Kosovo Polje, from which such a telegram was sent.

A 1,000-word report by J. Stojic from Valjevo entitled "This Flouts the Revolution" covers protest meetings by veterans of Valjevo, by "some 10,000 workers" of Krusik plant of Valjevo, by "several hundred workers" of the Gradac Screws Plant of Valjevo, and by "other work collectives in Valjevo." At the veterans meeting, Panta Pantic, a veteran of 1941, is reported to have "called all that is happening in the SR of Serbian a flouting of the revolution, stressing that veterans find this very serious."

A 300-word report by S. Tomic from Kostolac entitled "Why Sogorov and Marelj Were Not in Kostolac?" says that worker's meetings at the Kostolac and Drmno electricity combines "most sharply denounced some speeches at the latest session of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina, especially those by Djordje Stojsic and Petar Matic." Workers said they now understand why Vojvodina leaders Milan Sogorov and Zivan Marelj did not attend the festivities at the commissioning of the first generating set at the Drmno Powerplant on 6 July as promised, "by which they wanted to say that the present attack by Vojvodina on the Serbian leaders was not something recent, but was premeditated in detail, and was obviously launched at a moment when, in the opinion of its creators, it would have the most destructive effect."

The remaining two articles on page 8 are a 400-word report by B. Blagojevic from Kraljevo entitled "Kosovo Conclusions Must be Implemented Immediately" on protest meetings "in the largest Kraljevo work organizations"; and a 200-word report by M.J. entitled "The Conduct by Some Vojvodina Leaders is Unprecedented" on a protest meeting at the Keramika plant of Mladenovac.

Page 9 contains three more reports on protest meetings, filling half the page. A 400-word report by N. Matijevic entitled "The Leadership of Serbia Thinks Like the People" deals with a session of "the presidiums of the sociopolitical organzations and the Communal Assembly" of Arandjelovac which assessed that "the Communists and the people of this part of Sumadija give unreserved support to their leadership." Several named veterans are said to have "energetically demanded the dismissal of Boska Krunic, Petar Matic, and others, recalling that the Communists of the region had expressed their dissatisfaction when these people were elected to highest offices."

A 500-word report by R. Petrovic from Cacak is entitled "We Want Peaceful Dreams for Our Children." It reports on a "brief meeting" of "several thousand workers" of the Cer Enterprise of Cacak, from which a protest telegram was sent and demands were made that "one should break away from the protagonists of the unprincipled struggle for power such as Krunic, Matic, Stojsic, Radosavljevic and some others."

An 800-word report by T. Todorovic from Nis is entitled "We Do Not Want Passports Within Serbia." It says that "the attack by the leaders of the Provincial Committee of the LC of Vojvodina on the leadership of the LC of Serbia and President Slobodan Milosevic was denounced in almost all the collectives of the Nis region." A paragraph subheaded "Veterans Demand Resignations by Krunic and Matic" reports on an extraordinary meeting by the Nis Commune Veterans Federation.

TANJUG Correction to Serbian Assembly Report

LD2607161788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Jul (TANJUG)—In reports from yesterday's session of the Serbian Assembly, a number of public media carried incorrect information on the results

of delegates' elections in connection with the adoption of the draft amendments to the Serbian Constitution. The correct information is as follows: All three chambers of the Serbian Assembly unanimously endorsed the proposed text of the draft amendments from 9 to 41 to the Serbian Constitution. The Republican Committee for Information of Serbia is asking the editorial boards whose reports were incorrect to issue this correction.

Work Stoppage at Zenica Steelworks

AU2607114588 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jul 88 p 11

[N. Buturovic report: "Life-Threatening Strike"]

[Excerpt] Zenica, 14 Jul—The report that 2,500 workers are on strike at the Zenica steelworks was denied today in an official statement of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection. The statement says that 130 workers at three old blast furnaces stopped work at 1600 on 12 July, and that work was resumed at 0300 the following day. Work at the blast furnaces was interrupted without the necessary technical precautions, and the state of the gas throughout the plant was imperiled. Because of an inadequate flow of iron, the production process and the further operation of the plant was cast in doubt.

Because of the danger, the strikers created outlets for the molten iron, and after discussions with the steelworks management headed by Nikola Telebaka, steelworks president, and Nikola Telebaka, chairman of the Management Committee [names as published] which began at 2300 and ended at 0300 the following day, those manning the blast furnaces resumed work. The next morning shift did not work for half an hour because the workers were not informed of the events of the previous night.

The cause of the strike was the large differentials among different divisions in the Blast Furnaces Basic Organization of Associated Labor, and demands were formulated during the stoppage for an increase in personal incomes of 80 percent, increases in compensation paid for difficult working conditions and in long-service benefits, for supplementing crews on the platforms of the blast furnaces with new workers, and for proper protection against lead poisoning. It was agreed that a reply would be given to these demands within 10 days.

The session of the Committee for All-People's Defense and Social Self-Protection which was held together with executive bodies of sociopolitical organizations and the steelworks Management Committee, judged these demands to be unrealistic and not feasible under such conditions. One of the committee's conclusions was that workers should be warned by the media that interruptions to work and to the technical operation of the steelworks could endanger the plant and the lives of workers and their families.

The workers at the blast furnaces who in their strike demanded higher wages and improved working conditions, earn between 300,000 and 350,000 dinars. It is probable that such difficult working conditions, with high temperatures and poisonous gases, do not exist anywhere else in the industry. Because of this, the workers at the tall furnaces enjoy the great respect of other steelworkers. Their warning that the entire steelworks could be called out on strike must therefore be taken with the utmost seriousness. [passage omitted]

Drug Traffickers Sentenced in Pristina

AU2607114388 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Jul 88 p 12

[Z. Kostic report: "Prison Sentences of Between 10 Months and 10 and ½ Years"]

[Text] Pristina, 19 Jul—The bench of three criminal judges at Pristina District Court, headed by Djordje Aksic, pronounced sentence upon an organized group of drug traffickers today.

The first accused, Behxhet Bllaca and Sherif Salihu (34) were sentenced to 10 and ½ years imprisonment. Sahit Hoti (42) was sentenced to 10 years; Muhamet Metaj (34) and Nazif Gashi (36) to 7 years; Qerim Sinani (35) to 5 years; Smajl Doci (42) to 3 years; Asllan Zogu (33) and Shemsedin Bytyci (34) to 4 years; Nazif Sevdiu (32) to 1 year; Mirka Gligorovska (41) to 2 years; Miljana Tasic (41) to 3 years; Gani Selmani (30) to 2 years; Besim Hoti to 2 years; Sejdi Rama (40) and Tahir Zemaj (37) to 6 years; Shefqet Arifi (34) to 3 years; Slobodanka Diberova (28), Bedrie Azizaj (32), and Faik Ymeri (42) to 1 year; Burim Rakovica (32) to 10 months; and Agim Avdiu (34), Emin Desku (47), and Serbez Maloku (32) to 1 year.

The accused Sabit Hoti (56), Hamdi Gashi (38), Fatmir Duriqi (25), Xhemahlie Kabashi (26), Arife Beqiri (54), and Sutkie Kabashi (31) were cleared of criminal responsibility.

The accused Ymer Halimi (29) is to be tried separately, because at present he is under medical treatment in Zagreb.

Apart from the prison sentences, the criminal court accepted a demand made by the public prosecutor for the confiscation of assets and real estate acquired illegally from the sale and processing of drugs between 1985 and 1987.

By a decision of the Pristina Criminal Court, those sentenced to prison for less than 5 years were released from custody, pending the decision of the Kosovo Supreme Court.

Croatia's Latin on Economy, Nationalism

LD2707175688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1252 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Zvecevo, Yugoslavia, July 27 (TANJUG)—For Yugoslavia, constitutional changes and economic and political reforms constitute not only an attempt to overcome the present crisis but also to open a new road of socialist development, President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia's Republic of Croatia Ivo Latin said today.

Addressing a public rally at Zvecevo near Osijek on the 47th anniversary of the people's uprising in Croatia against the fascist occupiers, Latin noted that unity of views and resolve to radically change the situation had at last been achieved in the country after a longstanding blockade.

"Socialism can be endangered by incompetent decisions and stubborn insistence on obsolete developmental solutions, and not by the market and demands for efficacy," he said.

Latin remarked that the wave of workers' discontent, which has spilt from factories into the streets, was carrying "a typical class charge" but that, at the same time, it could be a powerful stimulus for change in relations in society.

Latin described the frequent attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, coming mostly from Yugoslavia's most developed republic of Slovenia, as "hostile activity" aimed at destabilizing the army as a guarantor of the unity of Yugoslavia. "We are determined not to accept any polemics on questions concerning the country's security," he pointed out.

On the situation in Kosovo, the autonomous province burdened with consequences of the counter-revolutionary incidents provoked by ethnic Albanian separatists in 1981, Latin said that it was very grave and threatened to turn into a permanent source of crisis in Yugoslav society.

The president of the republic Presidency of Croatia came out against "all attempts at manipulating workers on national foundations," against "flirting with the street and with petty-bourgeois nationalistic passions." He urged vigorous action against all nationalisms and disintegration attempts in Yugoslavia.

President Dizdarevic Leaves for Nigeria

LD2807082588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—This morning Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, left on an official and friendly visit to Nigeria at the invitation of President Ibrahim Babangida.

The two presidents will hold talks on promoting bilateral cooperation in the economic and other areas and mention will also be made topical international questions and the activities of nonaligned countries. Separate talks on international themes will also be held by the foreign ministers of the two countries, Budimir Loncar and Ike Nwachukwu.

The visit by Raif Dizdarevic will last until Sunday.

At Belgrade airport Raif Dizdarevic was seen off by Stane Dolance, vice president of the SFRY Presidency; Dusan Popovski, president of the Yugoslav Assembly; Milos Milosavljevic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council; and others. Representatives of the Nigerian Embassy in Belgrade were also present at the airport.

Loncar Cables 'Aziz on Iraq-Iran War

LD2807094488 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0840 GMT 28 Jul 88

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Jul (TANJUG)—Budomir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs has sent a message to Tariq 'Aziz, Iraqi deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, on the Iraq-Iran war situation following the Iranian decision to accept Security Council Resolution No 598. The message requests both sides to refrain from undertaking any actions which might make the implementation of the resolution, a cease-fire, and the withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders, more difficult. The message was relayed by Stojan Andov, SFRY ambassador to Baghdad.